# SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY

#### CONTEXTS

THE SOUTHERN TEXTILE	
SITUATION Holland Thompson	113
THE CASE OF THE WOMEN'S COLLEGES	
IN THE SOUTH Eudora Ramsay Richardson	126
ROBERT POTTER: TAR HEEL AND TEXAN	
Daredevil Robert Watson Winston	140
MEDICAL PRACTICE IN THE OLD	
SOUTH Richard H. Shryock	160
COMMERCIAL FERTILIZERS IN SOUTH	
CAROLINA R. H. Taylor	179
THE CONFEDERATE DISTRICT COURTS IN	
Admiralty William M. Robinson, Jr.	190
APRIL WEATHER: THE POETRY OF LIZETTE	
WOODWORTH REESE R. P. Harriss	200
BOOK REVIEWS	208

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#### Number 1, January, 1930

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#### The

## South Atlantic Quarterly

Vol. XXIX

APRIL, 1930

Number 2

#### THE SOUTHERN TEXTILE SITUATION

HOLLAND THOMPSON College of the City of New York

I

DURING the whole of the present century those interested in the industrialization of the South and their spokesmen have painted the situation in rosy colors. The "nativeborn Anglo-Saxon labor," tractable, law-abiding and self-respecting, simple in tastes, was grateful for the privilege of being employed in textile and other mills. His wages were sufficient for his needs and the additions to those wages in the form of subsidized housing and the other advantages of the mill village made him content with his lot. No outsider attempting to show him how his conditions might be improved through organization could gain his ear.

During the past two years this dream has been rudely shattered. Strikes accompanied by bloodshed have occurred. Men and women have shown that they were not satisfied with the conditions of their employment, and have protested at the risk of their liberty and even of their lives. They have resisted the officers of the law who seemed vigilant in protecting the persons and property of the mill-owners, and extremely lax and indifferent in protecting the strikers. The reputation of the courts for fairness has been challenged. The operatives have been forced to believe that there is one law for them and another for the henchmen of the mill-owners; and in this belief the world outside concurs.

This might have been foreseen and the consequences averted, or, at any rate, rendered less serious, if the operators and the state had been a little wiser. Students of social problems have known for years that all was not well, but the

managers have resisted any attempt to gain accurate knowledge of actual conditions, and have resented the publication of any comment not entirely favorable. Some of them really believed that the operative was grateful for the opportunity to work fifty-five to sixty hours a week. His father and mother did have that attitude, but the twentieth century is not the nineteenth, and a different operative is facing a dif-

ferent employer.

There have been cotton mills in the South since the beginning of the nineteenth century, but about 1880 growth became rapid. The development during the eighties and the nineties is an interesting story into which several elements enter. Cotton mills were established from different motives. Some few were built solely for economic reasons. More were built from the savings of many individuals, principally to "help the town." The instalment plan so popular in the nineties, by which small subscriptions were pooled, built hundreds of mills. While no doubt most of the subscribers hoped to get an adequate return, the South of those days was not primarily commercial. In the background was the hope of creating an institution which would be of benefit to the community. Some mills were organized with the avowed aim of providing employment for the poor. The Salisbury Cotton Mill, organized by Rev. F. J. Murdock, is a typical example. Such people were not hypocrites, consciously or unconsciously. Their attitude grew naturally out of the economic situation.

It is difficult, even for the native Southerner who has grown up in the present century, to comprehend rural conditions in the South during the late seventies, the eighties and the early nineties; it is virtually impossible for one from another section of the country to picture the situation. The condition of many tenant farmers to-day is bad enough, but the whole rural situation in the last quarter of the nineteenth century seemed absolutely hopeless. Granted that many ills were due to the ignorance, inertia or stupidity of the farmers themselves, intolerable grievances did exist. Looking back upon the Populist uprising, the social historian is astonished at the moderation and restraint displayed. To such people

the cotton mill offered a means of escape from bitter poverty. A family whose crops often did not pay the store accounts, whose members handled almost no money, heard with amazement of twenty or twenty-five dollars earned by a family in a single week. The whole family had worked on the farm, as families have done since farming began, and for the family to work in the mill seemed a natural procedure. The usual result was that the children worked, though the father often failed to find employment and became a hypochondriac or a loafer.

The manager of the mill to which such a family went is a figure unique in industrial history who has never been adequately described. He was not a trained manufacturer or financier. His business apprenticeship had usually been in a general store or a cotton office, more rarely in a bank or on a plantation. He knew little or nothing of the technique of manufacturing, little of the principles of finance—but he had grown up on the land, was rooted in the soil and he did know people, and this knowledge served him well in his new position. Few of the earlier mills were well managed from a technical standpoint; many of the superintendents had learned the little they knew in the school of experience, but they also knew their people; cost accounting was practically unknown. In few cases was there adequate working capital, and the mill must produce what the commission house demanded.

In spite of these obstacles, the mills prospered, due to a half dozen advantages, some of which no longer exist: low building costs, cheap fuel, low taxes, a local supply of cotton, a sympathetic mommunity, and last but not least, tractable labor, working long hours for low wages. The product was often not of the first grade, the machines did not produce all of which they were theoretically capable, but the operatives were loyal and reasonably contented. There was little industrial friction, perhaps less than noted anywhere else in industrial history. Unless grievously mismanaged, the mills prospered. The income received by the operatives thirty or forty years ago, though small, was so much greater than any ever realized on the farms that they seldom questioned

whether or not wages might be higher. Life, even in an isolated factory village, was more interesting than on a farm, and the houses in a mill village, however monotonous they might be in appearance, were much superior to the average tenant cabin. Then, too, the manager understood the workers. He was of the same blood, and they shared many of his opinions and prejudices. They could go to him and talk man to man, without any difficulty. Some of us have heard ordinary operatives call an important manager by his first name with-

out any suspicion of familiarity.

During his first years as a manager this ability to deal with his operatives was of inestimable value, and the manager developed still further his sense of responsibility for their lives and welfare until the relationship often became patriarchal, almost feudal. Subscriptions were made to the mill church or churches, and often the manager had the determining voice in selecting the pastor. Either a mill school was established or else the public school was subsidized and, in any case, the manager approved the teachers. The houses were rented to the operatives at less than cost, or else housing was free, and this increased his power. Considerable sums were sometimes expended for Christmas "treats" and exercises and for the annual picnic. Coal or wood was furnished at wholesale rates. A subscription was made to the baseball team. When misfortune came, the manager advised and gave material assistance if needed.

It is not surprising that the manager came to think of himself as divinely appointed. In the village his word was law. He controlled the whole economic life. Any immoral or otherwise obnoxious person could be discharged from the mill and evicted from the factory tenement. No minister or teacher advanced doctrines contrary to the established mores. All over the South at the beginning of the century there were these little villages almost as much under the control of the manager as any medieval manor under its lord, save that the inhabitants could, and did, leave on occasion, probably to find employment in another village of the same sort. Naturally, such an atmosphere is not conducive to individual develop-

ment. Cotton mill communities have furnished no geniuses, few men with talent of any sort.

To the everlasting credit of these old managers be it said that, according to their lights, they exercised their power with restraint and discretion. It is probable that in most cases they decided more wisely than those for whom they made the decisions would have done. They honestly sought what they thought to be the welfare of "our people." To be sure, they continued to think agriculturally. Compared with farm work. the hours of labor in the mill were not excessive. They accepted child labor as a matter of course, just as the parents did. When the question began to be discussed, they made some rather futile efforts to reduce the amount, but so many families seemed to require the labor of their children! Of course they opposed regulation, partly because of fear, and partly because of their individualistic agricultural philosophy. Tilling the soil by legislative enactment had never been done, and they could see no more reason for regulating manufacturing than agriculture. Naturally, also, they opposed labor organizations.

Meanwhile the little mill had prospered, and had been doubled, trebled in size, or else other units had been constructed. There was no longer difficulty in securing capital to start a mill. Northern capital came in increasing amounts. Northern interests built branch plants or bought mills already in operation. Mills were combined and some of them became big business, and their shares were bought and sold on the exchanges.

#### TT

About the close of the World War the old type of manager began to fade from the picture. The business had become rather large and complicated for him. The phenomenal profits of the War years were no longer made. A mill which could earn its dividends was fortunate, and few had accumulated a surplus. It had been a common policy to distribute profits instead of fixing a satisfactory dividend rate and passing the remainder to surplus. The trend toward finer goods and "specialties" had made manufacturing a more difficult

undertaking, and the superintendents needed technical knowledge rather than rule-of-thumb methods. The old type of manager seemed no longer adequate, though some survived. His son, or his son-in-law, often succeeded him. The younger man perhaps had been to college; he knew more of manufacturing, and considerably more of finance, but he had never known the sense of fellow-feeling which common poverty often brings; he knew infinitely less of people. The operatives were "hands" rather than individuals. The young men from the textile schools and the college-bred apprentices were closing the door of advancement to the more ambitious operatives.

Meanwhile the first rural generation no longer comprised a majority of the operatives. Most of them had been born in mill villages. Until recently mill schools were generally better than those in the rural districts, and while children were too often in the mills rather than in the schools, some did attend, even into the high school. The daily newspaper became rather common in mill villages, and some of the popular magazines were widely read. The motion pictures gave them glimpses of another world, where there was leisure and luxury. For that matter, their surroundings had an influence. In their fathers' time all had been poor together. Now in every Southern town they could see evidences of wealth. Perhaps every member

of the manager's family drove an expensive car.

During the World War profits were huge. Wages rose rapidly, but not so rapidly as the profits. To escape taxes plants were enlarged—and then came the slump. The textile mills of the United States could produce goods much in excess of normal demand—and women had ceased to wear cotton. Men also were wearing more silk than had been their custom. New England felt the pinch first, and many mills closed down for long periods, some of them permanently. Others moved to the South. Southern mills ran more hours in a week, though few have made any considerable profits for several years unless they were producing some specialty. Wages everywhere were sharply reduced. A skilled operative, married and with a child or two, might find himself earning

little more than he had received as a boy ten years before. Then, too, he had heard of concealed earnings and only half believed the story that the mill was not making money. He hardly knew the manager of the mill and did not trust him as his father had trusted his predecessor.

Such was the situation. The mill was not making the former profits, if indeed it was not losing. The operative was no longer contented and docile; the new type of manager did not know the psychology of the worker as his predecessor had known it; the Yankee manager of the Northern-owned mill did not know it at all. The arrogance of both, their unwillingness to recognize the right of society to question their actions, had alienated enlightened public opinion.

In casting around for a way out the so-called "stretch-out" system was introduced. This was nothing except the most elementary scientific management—to give to a skilled man an unskilled assistant to do the drudgery and then assign a greater number of looms to the two, usually giving to the skilled man a slightly greater wage. No fault can justly be found with the plan, which might well have been introduced before. Where the system was introduced tactfully there was no difficulty; but in mill after mill there was rebellion, an epidemic of strikes, in South Carolina, North Carolina, and Tennessee. In South Carolina a legislative committee reported that no strikes had occurred at any mill where the rather mild labor laws of the state had been observed. The most serious strikes occurred in the German-owned ravon mills at Elizabethton, Tennessee, and at Gastonia and Marion, North Carolina. It may be significant that all the mills most affected were owned and managed by Northern or European capitalists.

The Gastonia situation has brought much unfavorable publicity to the community and to the state of North Carolina. Gaston County is said to have more cotton mills than any other similar area in the United States, if not in the world. Many of these mills are in and around Gastonia. Full discussion of all the ramifications of the case would require a volume, but the leading events are as follows. A strike broke

out in the Loray Mills, owned by a Rhode Island corporation. There was disorder, apparently not beyond the control of a competent sheriff or police department; nevertheless the militia was called out; the headquarters of the strikers were raided and destroyed by a masked mob, almost within sight of the camp of the militia; the strikers procured arms to defend their new headquarters; a squad of police made a night visit to the headquarters and the chief of police was killed. Somewhat later a truck load of strikers on the way to attend a meeting was turned back by a mob, and a widow, the mother of five children, was killed. Certain strike leaders were kid-

napped and severely beaten.

The Gastonia strike was financed by the National Textile Workers Union, the Communist organization, and the International Labor Defense. The other mills, and apparently the whole community, rallied to the management and took full advantage of this radical backing in creating sentiment against the strikers. There was no difficulty in getting indictments against the strikers charged with the murder of the policeman, but the local officials declared themselves unable to discover who destroyed the headquarters of the strikers. The first grand jury refused to find indictments against the slayers of Mrs. Wiggins, but the governor sent a judge of the Superior Court to act as committing magistrate who forced the jury to find indictments. Though the governor sent the attorney-general to prosecute the case, the accused were promptly acquitted.

Though seventy-one strikers and strike organizers were arrested, only seven were tried for the murder of the policeman. The attitude of the judge seems to have been admirable, on the whole, but the accused never had a chance. The work of the alarmists, who saw a Bolshevist lurking behind every bush, had been so well done that an impartial jury could not be found. The defendants were really tried for what they thought, not what they did. It is also true that they were badly defended. Indeed it is not at all clear that the International Labor Defense really wished them to be acquitted, but preferred rather to make new martyrs. The state prose-

cution was ridiculously spectacular and vindictive in this case, though lukewarm and indifferent in the case of Mrs. Wiggins. All the defendants were found guilty of second degree murder and sentenced to varying terms in the penitentiary, some rather short. It must not be forgotten that in New England and in the far West the defendants in cases no more serious than these have either been electrocuted, or else sentenced to life imprisonment.

At Marion, the union was formed under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor. Several members were discharged by the owner, a Baltimore capitalist. The strikers attempted to prevent other workers from entering the mill, and handled the owner rather roughly. The sheriff and his deputies attempted to disperse the strikers, who resisted with fists, sticks and stones. When they fled they were fired at, five were killed and eighteen wounded, practically all shot in the back. The sheriff and some of his deputies were tried in an adjoining county and triumphantly acquitted, incredible as it may seem.

In all these cases the general attitude of the state officials,—the governor, the attorney general, the judges—was marked by fairness and a desire to see justice done. The local prosecutors showed their subservience to the mill owners. The chief reason for the results, however, is the attitude of that part of the population from which jurors were drawn. Some of the strike organizers denied a belief in God, and their views on marriage and sex relations were decidedly liberal, to put it mildly. Many people really believed them to be emissaries of the Soviet government and behaved with no more calm than the New York legislature in the face of the supposed "Communist peril." Some of these outsiders also seemed to have no color prejudice.

Some individuals, supposedly intelligent, really believe that the trouble was created by the Communist agitators, and that if these could be suppressed the traditional relations between employer and employed can be restored. They look upon Gastonia as an effect, not as a symptom. They do not realize that to an individualistic people, such as the cotton

mill operatives of the South, Communism can make no appeal until conditions are otherwise unendurable. In this case a helping hand was held out to them. They took it, but one who knows these people must doubt whether any considerable number ever accepted or even understood the philosophy of Communism.

It is true that these stormy petrels of Communism were exceedingly annoying in their intemperate attacks upon the sacredness of the established economic and social order which the great mass of the people supposed was immutable. Then, too, the great mass of the Southern people is orthodox religiously. Whether the general standard of morals and conduct is higher in the South than elsewhere, is not the question. It is true that the offender against the codes seldom attempts to rationalize or to defend his conduct. The conviction of sin is upon him. So we find that those who never go to church. whose personal conduct perhaps shows lapses from high ethical standards, are horrified when one assails the Bible or the institution of marriage. If the assailant is an outsider, he is certainly damned. There is an old law still on the statute books that one who denies the existence of the Supreme Being cannot give acceptable testimony in court. In one case the judge threw out the testimony of an atheist, while another refused to allow the witness to be questioned on the subject. while still another allowed the witness to be questioned to impeach his testimony.

The fact that the strikers at Marion fared no better than those at Gastonia, though the former strike was sponsored by the American Federation of Labor, was due in large measure to the Gastonia propaganda. To the more or less illiterate mass mind all labor organizers have been identified with atheism, and the American Federation of Labor in its future efforts to unionize the South will be held to account for the

beliefs of its enemies, the Gastonia agitators.

#### III

Ironically, North Carolina, where wages are higher than in any other Southern state, and where conditions of cotton

mill life are distinctly better than elsewhere, has been the arena of the most bitter contests yet staged. Just what wages are actually paid is difficult to determine. Bulletin 492 of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics attempts to answer this question. The highest average full time weekly wages in 1928 were, in New Hampshire, \$22.46; the lowest in Alabama, \$13.42. The wages in the two leading cotton states, Massachusetts and North Carolina, were \$19.13 and \$16.46, respectively. The hours were shorter in Massachusetts, of course, 48.8 as against 55.8, but the difference in individual earnings was not so great as is generally supposed.

Moreover, in North Carolina housing is furnished to a large majority of the operatives at less than cost. The average rent, sometimes including water and lights, is not much more than a dollar a room a month, as Miss Herring has conclusively shown in her important book, Welfare Work in Mill Villages. Few Massachusetts mills furnish housing, and practically none at so low a rate as this. Just how much this item of subsidized housing adds to the wages can not be determined. One of the best mills in the State estimates the cost of furnishing houses, together with some welfare activities, at \$4.36 a week for each operative. Few mills approach this sum, but in almost every mill the sum is considerable. Taking the State as a whole, the average cost to the mills for each operative is certainly more than a dollar a week, twice as much at some mills. If the operative rented from an individual landlord, the cost to him would be more. In other words, while the operative in North Carolina works seven hours a week longer, his total earnings are not much less than those received in Massachusetts. It is also true that the wages of a few mule spinners, the most highly paid operatives in the industry, raise slightly the Massachusetts average, while no mule spinners were reported in North Carolina.

Wages in the whole industry are shockingly low everywhere, and apparently always have been. One is tempted to declare that the textile industry has always been parasitic, basing its scales upon a family wage, depending upon the labor of women and children and never paying its own way.

What will be the outcome of these disturbances? For the present the employers seem to have won. The strikes came at a time when some mills would have welcomed an opportunity to close. Many mills were either running at a loss or with little or no profit, because of the unwillingness of the managers to disrupt their labor force and bring privation to many of their operatives. Even if no other elements had been injected into the situation, the strikers could hardly have won. Just as the presence of Clarence Darrow for the defence made the Scopes trial a farce, the entrance of the Communists at Gastonia doomed the cause. As indicated above, all labor agitation has been confused in the public mind with Bolshevism. The strikers have lost the battle: whether they have lost the campaign, remains to be seen. Undoubtedly many employers believe that the operatives have been taught a salutary lesson. They will attempt to have the next legislature pass a severe act aimed at Communist agitation, and hope that peace will be restored.

Some students of social problems had hoped that the South would escape the difficulties of adjustment which have attended the transition from agriculture to industrialism elsewhere. The managers have been in a strong position, but apparently they have chosen to deny the existence of the difficulties rather than to face them. So far they have been able to prevent the organization of their operatives into unions, though they themselves are strongly organized. Their position is just as logical as that of the United States Steel Corporation—no more so, no less. That they can permanently prevent such organization is improbable, though the textile industry, like the steel, is one that presents many difficulties.

Nearly twenty-five years ago the writer, after discussing the individualism of the Southern rural population, its lack of a social consciousness with the resultant inability for concerted action, printed the following:

When the operatives know no other life than that of the mill village, when the connection with the soil is broken, leaders may arise who will

preach the war of the classes. Much preaching will be necessary, but the dormant class consciousness is already stirring.

There are some mill managers who have a social consciousness, who realize the indefensible position into which the more arrogant members of their organization have led them. They know that the best sentiment of the State and of the whole nation looks with shame rather than with satisfaction upon the events at Gastonia. Whether they will be able to gain control of the industry before real industrial war arises, is the real question.

<sup>1</sup> Thompson, From Cotton Field to Cotton Mill.

## THE CASE OF THE WOMEN'S COLLEGES IN THE SOUTH

EUDORA RAMSAY RICHARDSON Richmond, Virginia

T

THE DISPARITY between the endowments of the colleges for women and the endowments beneficently bestowed upon colleges for men—a condition which now constitutes a crisis throughout the country—has existed in the South so long that Southern educators have all but despaired of seeing it changed. The smaller woman's college seems to have reached an impasse because funds are not available for

its support.

The first women's colleges in the country were founded in the South. The bricks of Salem College in North Carolina had somewhat mellowed before Mary Lyon began her epochal experiment in New England, and four other Southern colleges had graduated "females" before Matthew Vassar testified to his faith in the brains of Northern women. Before 1860 there were in the South several boarding schools offering courses practically identical with those laid out at Mount Holyoke and later at Vassar. Of these, Salem College, founded as an academy in 1772, the Greenville Woman's College, founded also as an academy in 1820, Greensborough College, founded in 1839, Wesleyan, chartered as a college in 1839, Judson, founded as a "female institute" in 1839, and Hollins, the outgrowth of a small coëducational institution known as Valley Union Seminary, founded in 1842, have continuous records of service. Yet, due to lack of financial support, only one of these historic institutions—Wesleyan College—is sending out alumnae eligible to membership in the American Association of University Women-and the star that marked Weslevan on the probationary list was not removed until 1925. Indeed, when the Southern Association of College Women joined in 1921 with the Association of Collegiate Alumnae to form the American Association of University Women, the new organization of college women found only two Southern colleges for women, existing entirely apart from colleges for men, that met its requirements. Since then five others have been admitted to membership.

The fault lies not with the institutions but with a public which, despite all its prating of the cultural advantages possible only through the education of women, has not adequately supported its women's colleges. Of the six ancient institutions cited, Wesleyan alone has met the minimum endowment of \$500,000 required for standardization. The exigencies of the situation have been met inadequately by coëducation of the sort that imposes unnecessary hardships upon women students and by that hybrid thing known as the coördinate college, which embodies all the disadvantages of coëducation and none of its advantages. Though the state supported universities in the South, at last recognizing the absurdity of offering their moderately priced instruction to men only, are all now admitting women through wide open doors or through cracks, only seven of these are providing for women a combination of scholastic and social opportunities entirely satisfactory to the American Association of University Women. For the most part women have been accepted in men's universities as step-sisters for whom life is rendered as intolerable as possible, or there have been made between women's colleges and men's, marriage arrangements that hark back to the day when the wife relinquished not only name but property rights and personal liberty as well. Such alliances have been undoubtedly marriages of convenience. Like the underpaid woman in industry who exchanges starvation in an attic room for a husband whose sole asset is the meal ticket he provides, women struggling to get an education at colleges with shoe-string endowments, have moved into men's better furnished quarters to be annexed or utterly absorbed. The educational problem, identical with most of the other problems that confront women to-day, is almost entirely economic. Colleges, now that we have made a fetish of standardization, can not be run without endowments. Endowments must come through large gifts. Large givers are chiefly men; and men

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have not yet caught the vision of women's education that is interpreted in financial terms.

Therefore most of the education that has come to the women of the South is attributable to the high consecration of a few men and women with vision to see a far goal and with that stamina which brings about endurance until the end. In a few cases that consecration has reaped success; in most it has not. And with one exception all the women's colleges that meet the standards of the American Association of University Women are institutions of comparatively recent origin. As illustrative of the vicissitudes through which woman's education has passed in a period of time now approaching a century, I have chosen two colleges, founded in the earlier era, for somewhat detailed study: Hollins College, situated near Roanoke, Virginia, and the Greenville Woman's College, controlled by the Baptists of South Carolina. I have selected these two because of their great age and the undeniable worth of the service they have rendered, because of the similarities and contrasts their situations present, and because my somewhat intimate relationship to the two colleges gives me a sympathetic understanding of their problems.1

#### II

In the records of colleges the story of Hollins has no parallel. It is the story of a man who gave all that he was and all that he had to an ideal, and by means of giving reared a great institution for the higher education of women. It is the story also of that man's ideal transferred to descendants who are offering to give to the public the college, theirs now, because they also have devoted their lives to its service. The story of Hollins epitomizes woman's educational struggle in the South—a struggle of ideals against financial handicaps enduring even unto this day. In unpoetic irony Hollins stands as a memorial to the Southerner's indifference to the educa-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The author is the daughter of President Ramsay of Greenville Female College, and also a graduate of Hollins and the University of Richmond. She has worked with a number of womens' organizations, notably the Southern Women's Educational Alliance and the National American Woman's Suffrage Association. (Editors.)

tion of women, but it stands also as the materialization of a great man's dream.

Charles Lewis Cocke at the age of nineteen, in a letter to a kinswoman, declared a settled purpose to devote his life to the higher education of women. In 1845, while he was teaching at Richmond College, the opportunity came. Valley Union Seminary, a small coëducational school founded three years before in the hills of Southwest Virginia, was tottering on the brink of disaster. The attendance was good; yet debts were accumulating, and unpaid notes staggered the management. Mr. Cocke was asked to become head of the seminary. He accepted upon incredible terms. Not only was no salary stipulated, but the \$1,500 he and his young wife had managed to save was lent to the seminary to stave off the creditors. The school prospered. The accommodations were insufficient, however, and there was no money available for new buildings. The Principal, in accord with his life purpose expressed in his youth, recommended to the trustees that boys be excluded. So in 1852 Charles Lewis Cocke became head of the first chartered school for girls in Virginia. The session opened with eighty-one pupils, the next with a hundred and fifty. A flourishing institution indeed-and yet there was a debt and no endowment! The single building that housed the seminary was inadequate. No material aid could be expected from the trustees or from a public whose interest in women's education was dormant or non-existent. Out of students' fees, ridiculously small in those days of almost Johnsonian impecuniosity, the school had to be maintained. An arrangement suggested by Charles Cocke provided that the revenue from board should go to the trustees to be used for improvements and that tuition fees should be kept by the Principal for the running of the school and the support of the Cocke family. From 1852 to 1900 the results of one financial campaign and a number of sporadic efforts to secure gifts were represented by \$35,000, half of which was contributed by Mr. and Mrs. John Hollins.

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Yet through the years there were improvements at Hollins. By 1900 there were dormitories to accommodate 225 students, a chapel, a music hall, a refectory, and adequate class rooms and laboratories. Since then a library, a science hall, an infirmary, a new music building, a science building, a little theater, and professors' homes have been added to the equipment. Toward the erection of the library there was a modicum of help from the alumnae; students raised the money for the theater; and Theodore Presser gave the music building. The plant at Hollins now has been appraised at \$1,250,000. Subtracting from this amount the gifts scattered over the years, totaling \$140,000, you have the sum of \$1,110,000

as the contribution of the Cocke family to Hollins.

To those who have handled the finances of colleges, it would seem that a miracle had been wrought. To those who have known the Cockes through the years, however, a miracle is apparent, but it is the miracle of sacrifice and devotion to an ideal. The vision was Charles L. Cocke's. Yet the travail that brought forth Hollins was suffered not only by Charles and Susanna Cocke but also by their children and grandchildren. Every member of the family who continued to live at Hollins worked for the college and not one drew a salary in the early days. Until recent years members of the faculty and administrative staff had no homes of their own: they lived in the dormitories. Here the children and grandchildren of Charles L. Cocke were born, while curious students listened with ears to the floor or against adjacent walls; and here these children were reared and educated. Only such money as was actually needed for clothes and the simple rural wants of the Cockes was drawn from the Hollins treasury. Every other cent went back into equipment. So it happened that by 1900 the board of trustees found that the debt to Charles L. Cocke amounted to \$101,253. Then it was that Doctor Cocke was persuaded to accept the institution in liquidation of the debt. A year later, at his death, Hollins became the property of his heirs who, with amazing devotion to the ideal of the founder, have continued to convert earnings into improvements for the college. Faced in recent years by the alternative of operating Hollins independently or of meeting the demands of standardization, which prohibit private ownership, the Cockes chose

the unselfish course. They are offering to give Hollins to a board of trustees upon condition that \$650,000 be raised for endowment and necessary equipment. Here, moreover, is where the story has no parallel: a family offers to give to the South an institution valued at \$1,250,000, which represents the sacrifice and high endeavor of three generations, an institution that has educated Southern women since 1842, an institution that represents all that family possesses in the way of worldly goods; yet the Southern public, prating of its appreciation, extolling the altruism that prompts the gift, glorying in the past of Hollins, has not in the four years since the offer was made been able to raise the \$650,000 necessary for acceptance of the gift. Incredible though it remains, the answer is a simple one: the South does not recognize the importance of contributing to the education of its women.

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The Greenville Woman's College, presenting another picture of high vision, lowly struggles, a long record of service, and shameful neglect on the part of those who should have offered support, does not parallel Hollins's story of a family's consecration to an ideal, but into its history is written the consecration of worthy men and women who have been victorious even while their efforts have seemed to go down in defeat. If its origin may be dated from the founding on its present site in 1820 of the first seminary, the Greenville Woman's College is, of all the Southern colleges for women, second only in age to Salem College. Yet throughout the long history the denomination that supposedly sponsors it has again and again pushed aside its claims in order that the education of men might be adequately taken care of.

Like Hollins the Greenville Woman's College started as a coëducational seminary. The records of 1821 show, however, an immediate discrimination in favor of the boys. Though more girls were enrolled, the boys had the better material equipment, and donors preponderantly named the boys as beneficiaries.

Three years after Doctor Cocke banished the boys from Hollins-namely in 1855-the Baptists of South Carolina took over the academy in Greenville and converted it into the Greenville Baptist Female College. Yet autonomy did not bring freedom from financial worries, nor did the Baptists accept responsibility to support the child they had adopted. It appears that for the first few years the college was forced to live on the proceeds from the sale of a part of its original property. After fifteen hectic and uncertain years, during which the administration was in the hands of members of the faculty of Furman University—a Baptist institution for boys separated by a river and a stretch of town from the Greenville Female College—the Baptists rid themselves of their incubus by leasing the college. Fortunately, however, the lessees were deeply concerned to bring about the advancement of woman's education. One of these, a Doctor Judson, built a dormitory largely out of his own money, the trustees agreeing that he should have the college rent free for ten years in return for his contribution. Soon afterwards he resigned and of course did not remove his addition.

With the termination in 1874 of the period of leases, the Greenville Female College entered upon an era in which is found explanation for the continual side-tracking of its problems. The woman's college was governed by the board of Furman University. Therefore, in all matters the boys were given the preference. One of the presidents of the Greenville Female College, leading the movement to secure a separate board, succeeded in getting a sub-board "made up of men especially interested in the education of women." The pioneers, however, lacking the hardihood to withstand the derision of the brethren, were laughed out of existence by their corridor name of "scrub-board" and dissolved after a few sittings. So when money was raised for Baptist education in South Carolina, the boys received the lion's share, which left nothing at all for the girls. For years the woman's college managed to live on the unsubstantial stuff of which promises are made. When one of the presidents appealed in 1903 for \$12,000 with which to build a dormitory, the trustees agreed to place an agent in the field to raise the money, but the agent never reached the field. At the next meeting of the Baptist State Convention the patient president renewed his appeal. The convention authorized the raising of \$20,000 or more. The money, however, did not materialize. In 1907 the Convention authorized a two-year campaign for Furman and the Greenville Female College with \$200,000 as its objective, \$65,000 for Furman and \$35,000 for G. F. C. the first year, the figures to be reversed the second year. When at the end of the two years only \$98,000 had been raised, the trustees decided to give the entire amount to Furman. Finally, in 1910 the woman's college achieved a board of its own, and a better day dawned. Yet with an energetic president devoted to the cause of woman's education and with a board working wholeheartedly for the advancement of this, the oldest institution of learning for women in South Carolina and the second oldest in the South, progress is still impeded by debt, and the endowment totals but \$100,000, one-fifth of the sum required for standardization.

A compensatory element in the long struggle is the number of fighters that have been developed. Men once enlisted remain in the ranks for life, perpetually wearing their boots and spurs. Through the years aggressive militants have headed the women's colleges in the South, men who have not been afraid to draw swords in defense of women's right to be educated.

#### IV

"The plan and policy of our school," said Doctor Cocke in 1857, "must be considered a true one. This plan recognizes the principle that in the present state of society in our country young ladies require the same thorough mental training as that afforded to young men."

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One Mr. Hollonquist, who acted as principal of the Academy in Greenville in the days before the Baptists took over the school, seems to have had decided views on the education of women. Once it is recorded a committee of the trustees was appointed to call upon him to express disapproval of the ad-

vanced course of study he had mapped out for the "females." However, their mission was never performed, as the Principal met them with a lengthy discourse on the higher education of women and the position of women in a "new day." His eloquence so impressed the committee that they arranged to have

the address delivered before a large body of citizens.

Mr. Hollonquist was not always successful, however, in his efforts to befriend the girls. On one occasion the main building of the girls' school suffered a fire. The Principal asked for permission to repair the roof from the "entrance moneys" of the current month. Permission was refused. Mr. Hollonquist called attention to winter rains and other dangers. Yet the "entrance moneys" were expended in directions the trustees deemed more important. Mr. Hollonquist then paid for the repairs from his own purse. At what he thought to be an auspicious time he presented the bill to the trustees. The minutes laconically state the action taken: "Mr. Hollonquist was given permission to remove his repairs"!

Mr. Hollonquist's successors have lost few opportunities to berate the brethren for their indifference to the woman's college. In 1910 one president, who had labored earnestly, albeit ineffectually, to extract funds from an andro-centric denomination, wrote in a bulletin directed to his Baptist constituency: "The woman's college has been neglected all too long. It has been left out of the thought of the great body of Baptists in the plan for denominational progress in the state." The next president, moreover, whose incumbency began in 1911 and continues to this day, combines with more popular gifts an innate love of a good fight. Consequently in nineteen years he has drawn few peaceful breaths. Whenever two or three are gathered together for any purpose, he manages to edge in a few pointed remarks concerning education for women and the criminal indifference of his beloved brethren. Thus he has been able to raise the first unit of the endowment and to add two dormitories, a library, a fine arts building, new laboratories, a swimming pool, and in various other ways to enlarge and improve the equipment.

#### V

Always fighters, those who believe in educating women are constantly facing one fight more. Now the so-called coordinate college for women is sending advocates into the center of the arena. There is nothing "coördinate" about the coördinate college plan as it seems to be working in the South. Auxiliary would be a more appropriate adjective. Like the old denominational "joint board" that operated the college for women along with the college for men, it continually discriminates in favor of the boys' unit. The situation is, of course, vastly different at the great northern universities, such as Harvard and Columbia where Radcliffe and Barnard are quite independent of the undergraduate schools for men, with their own college life and their own separate publications. At one Southern institution, however, where the coördinate plan is operated according to Southern ideas, the girls are denied full participation in many of the extra-catalogue activities which should be as important as academic courses. The boys, for instance, run the publications, with auxiliary editors from the girls' side of the campus. A girl who was recently coeditor of the magazine constantly complained futilely that the material she assembled was junked at the last minute without adequate explanation and that she had no voice in the make-up of the magazine and was never allowed to see a proof. The girls with literary bent are losing, therefore, an experience that might prove invaluable to them.

The alumnae association, moreover, seems to exist for the sole purpose of helping the girls get their rights. When the American Association of University Women was organized, the woman's unit of the institution discussed in the above paragraph, was placed on the probationary list. The low salaries paid the women professors were found to constitute the obstacle in the way of eligibility. Investigation revealed that the maximum paid to women fell below the minimum paid to men and that a woman with marked teaching ability, a doctor's degree, and fifteen years of experience, was receiving less than an instructor in the men's college with no doctor's

degree and no former teaching experience. The alumnae rolled up their sleeves. The battle that followed was an ugly one. A delegation asked to be heard by the executive committee of the board of trustees. The committee granted the request and gave the alumnae one hour's notice to appear. The delegation arrived, nevertheless, to be regaled with antiquated arguments advanced by men who still labored under the impression that earning power should be measured by the size of a worker's family. The alumnae then carried their fight to the general board. The contest of wits, interspersed with such pleasant little incidents as a threat made by the chairman of the board to sue the president of the alumnae association, continued till finally the salaries of the women professors were raised to meet the minimum requirements of the American Association of University Women.

Later there came the question of the location of a chapel. The money for the building was secured by women from a woman, and it was given upon condition that it be used by all the students of the institution. To the executive committee of the board of trustees fell the task of recommending a suitable location on the campus. True to its andro-centric training, the committee determined upon a site about a mile from the girls' buildings, comfortably near the boys'. The alumnae were again called to battle. After much correspondence and a deal of forensic oratory, a site convenient to both boys and girls was chosen. By such means women may be developing both esprit de corps and skill as fighters. Yet battles continually raging on college campuses are not conducive to the

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highest college loyalty, and they tend to divert attention from learning, which, after all, is the college's chief raison d'être.

Several women's colleges in the South are now warding off proposals of marriage from men's colleges, and at least two coëducational universities are considering an exchange of their present plan for one involving the coördinate feature. The idea frequently originates with a college president who

sees annexation as satisfying to his Alexandrian ambition. It is argued sophistically that coördination makes for reduction of overhead expenses.

The uninitiated are impressed, failing to realize that size of faculty, number of books in a library, laboratory equipment, endowment, and other essentials are prescribed by standardizing agencies in direct proportion to the number of students. The advantages of coëducation are to be found in classroom contacts, which stimulate both boys and girls to excel; the disadvantages are apparent when boys and girls are diverted from their studies by too frequent social contacts. In the coördinate colleges the sexes are segregated for brain work but allowed to mingle socially. In the small Southern college, moreover, coördination works a distinct hardship on the women professors. Men are named as department heads, supervising courses in both colleges; while the women of the faculty stand in associate or assistant relationships, having longer hours than the men and shorter pay.

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The seven Southern colleges for women that are meeting the requirements of the American Association of University Women are doing so with no margins to boast of. All need larger endowments; all could make use of money for equipment; all are cutting corners that should not be cut. The combined endowments of the seven colleges do not equal single gifts that have been made to men's universities. Thousands of parents in the South prefer the woman's college for their daughters. Yet we have but seven such colleges of high rating to choose from and not one of these on a par with the great colleges of the East. Southerners by the thousands believe in educating their girls. The crisis that now confronts the women's colleges can be passed only when we translate belief into support. A debt which the South recognizes, it is making little effort to pay. Men have simply formed the habit of contributing to their own institutions. Just and kind they may be, but they are men, and as men they expect to be the recipients of the good things of this world. One can understand their point of view, which adoring women have helped them achieve. It is amazing, moreover, that women with

money should also, in large numbers, bestow their gifts upon colleges that educated their husbands or their sons—amazing, yet according to their natures. Women love men more than they love each other. They love their sons more than they love their daughters. Through the ages they have denied themselves that men might have every desire gratified. The hope of the colleges lies in recent indications that women are undergoing a change of heart. Justice and gratitude demand that we remember first those great pioneers among colleges that opened to women the doors of educational opportunity. The debt long standing can never be fully paid, nor can it be accurately computed. Salem College antedates every other college for women in the country, though it started merely as a seminary. Wesleyan is the first chartered college for women in America. Mount Holyoke alone is older than the Greenville Woman's College, Wesleyan, Hollins, and Judson. And Mount Holyoke, it will be remembered, was only a seminary in its early days. For seventy-five years graduates of our oldest Southern colleges have carried culture into the homes of the South. From their ranks have been recruited teachers who have lifted the educational ideals of communities. These colleges have given to their students something more than mere learning.

I stood last fall on the campus of one of the newer institutions, recently standardized, and thought in uncomplimentary contrast of the mellowed bricks of Hollins and the vine-covered walls of the Greenville Woman's College. The endowment, the library with the requisite number of books, and the Ph.D.'s of the faculty were not then apparent. I saw only new buildings, rising before me in gaunt and bare ugliness. I sought in vain for the atmosphere that pervades the colleges whose greatness consists in intangible qualities of the spirit. Men and women no longer present in the body linger about the corridors of the old colleges. At Hollins, Doctor Cocke, Grandma Cocke, and scores of others live in the ideals their successors are carrying on. At the Greenville Woman's College, Miss Judson, who taught for fifty years, has left something more than her name upon a library door and above

the halls of the literary societies. Dreams and hopes, struggles and failures, successes, vision and determination, love and faith—these are the qualities that have entered into the very brick and mortar of the colleges that have weathered the storms. It seems incredible that the people of the South should deny the safe anchorage in their power to give. Our prophetic souls are trying not to judge the future by the past.

# ROBERT POTTER: TAR HEEL AND TEXAN DAREDEVIL

ROBERT WATSON WINSTON Chapel Hill, N. C.

"Terrible Death of Robert Potter.—From the Caddo Gazette of the 12th inst. we learn the frightful death of Col. Robert Potter. . . . He was beset in his house by an enemy named Rose. He sprang from his couch, seized his gun, and in his night-clothes rushed from the house. For about two hundred yards his speed seemed to defy his pursuers; but, getting entangled in a thicket, he was captured. Rose told him that he intended to act a generous part, and give him a chance for his life. He then told Potter he might run, and he should not be interrupted until he reached a certain distance. Potter started at the word of command, and before a gun was fired he had reached the lake. His first impulse was to jump in the water and dive for it, which he did. Rose was close behind him, and formed his men on the bank ready to shoot him as he rose. In a few seconds he came up to breathe; and scarce had his head reached the surface of the water when it was completely riddled with the shot of their guns, and he sank to rise no more."—Charles Dickens, American Notes.

A BOUT sixteen miles from the town of Oxford, North Carolina, there is a backwoods community called Brassfields, where once every man carried his sovereignty under his own hat and "toted" his own skillet. To get an idea of this rough and tumble place, it is only necessary to state that before the Civil War Brassfields would go five hundred Whig one year and five hundred Democratic the next, and after the War was just as likely to go five hundred Republican as five hundred Democratic. During the War it lined up for the Union and against secession and secessionists, actually charging Zeb Vance, the War governor, with stealing all the Confederate gold he could lay his hands on.

Old man Zach McGehee was a typical Brassfieldian, and will illustrate the neighborhood. Uncle Zach had an only boy, Billy. Now Billy, having been lassoed and dragged into the Confederate army, was killed at Chancellorsville, and one May day in 1863 his body reached Uncle Zach's home for burial. The fierce old father, choking down his grief, wrapped the young "Rebel" in the United States flag and, shouldering his musket, stood guard at the boy's grave, defying any "damned Secesh" to show his face.

Well, right near Uncle Zach McGehee's, in the midst of this virile, independent folk, and in the year of our Lord 1800,

the smashing, handsome, Apollo-like Bob Potter was born. Soon the young chap was fired with the wanderlust. His father being a tiller of the soil and not forehanded, was unable to satisfy the boy's whim, and so the young fifteen-year old lad set out on his own hook. At that time the exploits of John Paul Jones, that swaggering Sea Dog if not pirate, were still fascinating the youth of America, as they had amazed the world a few years before. And John Paul had got his early training and backing at Halifax, North Carolina, a town not far from the old Potter homestead. Young Bob determined, therefore, to follow in the footsteps of John Paul, roving the seas as he did and filling the world with his exploits.

At fifteen he put out from home to join the Navy. There was then no naval academy at Annapolis, but by hook and by crook, he managed to find some good books, Latin as well as English. On board ship and in his quarters on land, he tugged away at his task, getting some knowledge of Latin and acquiring a rare, exceptional English style, crisp and biting. During his five years in the Navy, the restless mercurial lad roamed every corner of the globe, often footing it through wild, extensive forests, inhabited by thousands of wild animals, which, without considerable art, as he writes, could not

be tamed or approached by a human being.

A roistering, daredevil midshipman, inhabiting a world apart and unreal, without restraints, hindrances or taboos, young Potter ceased to be a civilian and became a swash-buckling sailor, a buccaneer, a near-pirate—facing storms by sea and riots, routs and affrays by land without a tremor or a quiver. In one of the many duels which he fought, the rash, chivalrous young devil discharged his pistol in the air, as would a knight of old. On the second go-round, however, his antagonist bit the dust, and Bob came off with a load of lead in his own body. During this period of training, the ambition of the young midshipman was to play a great part in life, and this ambition never flagged. To fit himself for leadership, his industry was amazing. Plutarch's Lives he devoured, hair and hide. The satires of Juvenal and Horace gripped him. Sarcasm, badinage, ridicule, persiflage, and invective were his

long suit. John Paul Jones continued to be his idol. Like John Paul he would never give up the ship, but some day would fill the front page, though he might crush bones, violate decency

and propriety and break hearts.

Unfortunately for the gallant Bob, the Second War with Great Britain had ended in 1814, a year or so before he entered the Navy, and no other war was in sight. This was a sore disappointment to the young Blood. How could a naval officer climb the ladder of fame without a war? Yet he stuck to his job as midshipman for five years, boxing, fencing, wrestling, fighting, sailing around the globe, growing into a perfect physical man, but becoming daily less of the homo sapiens and more of a daredevil and a roisterer. After five years he resigned his position; things were too slow for him at sea, there was nothing to the sea! A handsome, fierce, savage—rollicking, likeable, rapscallion he now was, looking for a place to light and a job. What should he tackle and where should he expend his wonderful talents?

# GAME COCK

Finally he hit upon the law as a profession and Halifax on the Roanoke River as his home—where the Convention to frame a State Constitution had met, and where the famous Halifax Resolves had been adopted, now the residence of governors, senators, congressmen, and judges galore. There was a personal reason behind Potter's choice of Halifax as a residence, for Willie Jones and his brother Allen, foster parents of John Paul Jones, members of conventions and congresses, unwashed Democrats and henchmen of Jefferson, had lived there, and Bob intended to ally himself with their doctrines, claqueing and ballyhooing for "Old Hickory" Jackson and for the rights of the people, as the great Joneses had done.

After a few months residence at "The Grove," this being the home of the Joneses in Halifax, young Potter got his license to practice law, hung out his shingle and set forth on his checkered and piebald career, to put the bottom rail on top, playing the devil and breaking the meat axe, and himself riding the crest of the wave. And he was not long in waiting for a chance. Almost immediately he went before the Supreme Court for a defendant against whom a judgment for a small sum had been recovered before a single justice of the peace and without any jury.

"Monstrous!" the democratic Bob exclaimed. "No jury! why, sirs, such a thing is destructive of human rights—trial

by jury ought and must be preserved."

Lawyer Potter's brief was put in pamphlet form and was scattered hither and yon. "The habit of discarding the jury," Bob's brief saucily said, "is a hoary error, sanctioned by time and hallowed by precedent, but your Honors must not be swayed by a thousand idle bug-bears started to terrify the mind and mislead it in its investigation."

A challenge, this, for the five old mossybacks seated on the bench, but they were not intimidated by this young Marius and bowled him over. They did consent, however, to compliment him by printing his brief at great length in the Reports.

Not six weeks had young Potter been a citizen of Halifax before he contested the invincible hot-headed Jesse A. Bynum for the House of Commons; Bynum being the political bellwether of the flock, the cock of the walk, was soon to come in conflict. A hot canvass followed and a bloody election. Fisticuffs were pulled off at every cross-road, raw but classic epithets were in the air. Pistols were fired and rocks chunked: on election day a near riot, with broken noses and skulls and one man dead. The issue was unhampered democracy against hide-bound conservatism, riches against poverty-the new day of the millenium of the minnows against the old days of the Fathers. During the canvass one "Pliny" issued a series of scorching letters, a la Junius, cracking up young Potter and roasting Bynum. Afterwards these letters were printed in pamphlet form, dedicated to Mrs. Mary E. Jones, relict of the Honorable Willie Iones.

# ARMED TO THE TEETH WITH NO ONE TO FIGHT

But the red-hottest document was Bob Potter's pamphlet, "A Statement of the Affair of Robert Potter with Jesse A.

Bynum." Potter here brands Bynum as a bully and a coward. He accuses Bynum of having said on the afternoon of the election, "Potter attempted to dictate to me and I put him down." On the 12th of August, 1824, the day after the election, Potter challenged Bynum to fight a duel:

Halifax, N. C. Aug. 12, 1824.

SIR: I forbore to chastise your insolence at the polls yesterday, because I was unwilling to involve my brave and devoted friends in the consequences of a quarrel with you. I understand you have renewed your vaporing today; indeed you appear to have a wonderful itching to riot in the van of mobs. This is to invite you to the field of combat, I cannot say that of honor, your presence would deprive any spot of that character. You can choose your own weapon and distance. My friend, Mr. Burges, will make the necessary arrangements with any person you may think proper to appoint for that purpose.

ROB. POTTER.

Mr. J. A. Bynum-present.

Bynum declined the challenge and refused to fight, claiming that Potter was not a gentleman and that his challenge was insulting. Bynum did, however, forthwith challenge Potter's second, Thomas Burges, perhaps the most timid and innocent individual in the village. Of course Burges refused to fight, and nothing came of the matter. Thereupon Potter challenged John R. J. Daniel, a friend of Bynum's. At this stage of the logomachy, Halifax had become a positive inferno, a little hell. There was not a gathering of the people, political, religious, or social, without a riot. On August 19, 1824, Potter posted at the courthouse door, and on the sign of the "Mansion House," the following placard:

Halifax, Aug. 19, 1824.

JESSE A. BYNUM has been called on to atone for his ungentlemanly conduct, and having refused satisfaction I publish him as a poltroon and coward.

ROB. POTTER.

Still Bynum would not fight. At length, in January, 1825, the storm broke. One night the people of Halifax, aristocrats and democrats alike, had assembled in a social way at Dr.

Wilson's hospitable home, when Bynum insulted Potter by resting his hand on Potter's shoulder, and this Potter would not stand for. "At first," said he, "I did not believe that at such a time and such a place even he could be guilty of such rudeness and vulgarity." In fact, Bynum denied that he had been thus intimate with the redoubtable Potter, but many of the crowd asserted that he had, and thereupon a free-for-all fight ensued and, in the language of Potter, "The hilarity of the party being thus dissipated, it was almost immediately dissolved and I, in company with Mr. Burges, took my leave and left the house."

Immediately after the party, Jesse Bynum and his two friends, William Amis and John R. J. Daniel, afterwards Attorney General, followed Potter, as he said, cursing and abusing him. Next morning bright and early Potter, entirely alone, set out gunning for his enemies. Armed with a stout shilelah, a dirk, and pair of small pocket pistols, he marched down the street direct to the Bynum garrison at Mrs. Fenner's tavern, determined to wipe out the insult and punish the damned rascals. A fight ensued in which swords and pistols, knives and clubs, were used, and though no one was killed, Potter was run through with a sword cane and Bynum's head was cracked. Each side proceeded to give an account of the battle, claiming the victory. Potter then issued a new challenge to Daniel, but got no satisfaction.

At this stage of affairs, the local court woke up and bound the parties over under bonds, duly justified, to be of good behavior for the ensuing three months. "Peace reigned in Warsaw for a season," but as soon as the time was up, Potter again challenged Daniel. This was on June 24, 1825, and news of the challenge getting noised around the streets, Potter wrote Daniels a second note in which he stated that he himself was in hiding to keep from being arrested and was not likely to be found, and should be glad to know Daniel's decision immediately, advising him to take precautions to avoid an arrest. Still Daniel refused to meet Potter and Potter charged him with having deliberately married a wife as an excuse to keep

from fighting.

In the pamphlets of Potter and Bynum, Potter charges that Jesse Bynum and John R. J. Daniel are cowards and won't fight—Bynum, in a spirited reply, "An Exposition of Potter's Misrepresentations," denies the charges of aggression and blames it all on Potter, "a demon of discord"—declaring, "I will not sport away my life with any tussey boy or understrapper."

It must be admitted that from the duelist's view-point, Bynum came out of this affair with his comb badly cut. In fact, his "Exposition," though of great length, is but a whine and a special plea. And such the people considered it, for in the next election they sent Robert Potter to the House in

Bynum's place.

# A POLITICAL COLLEGE

In the legislature of 1826, Potter gained some notoriety from his Political College Bill. This measure would have established a college, free of cost, for poor boys, to be selected from the counties by the legislature. The bill was framed somewhat in accordance with present day agricultural colleges. The term of service, to be six years, the last three years to be spent in teaching, one-fifth of the students to work on the college farm, no student to be admitted whose father was worth over one thousand dollars. The state was to issue \$220,000 in bonds to raise money to begin operations.

Such was this advanced measure, but as in all Potter did, it was shot through with class distinction, spite, and personality. Soon he got the floor and made a speech for his measure, asserting that North Carolina was lazy and laggard, floundering along behind all the other states, rusting in primal ignorance, rotting from sire to son, and the only remedy education. Once the state had great leaders, such as Chief Justice Henderson, but now pygmies ruled the roost. "How can such boobies as Daniel Barringer, Willis Alston, and Lemuel Sawyer represent a state in Congress?" he wanted to know. He then flays his old Halifax opponent, Bynum, calling him a villain without character, a pimp and a caterer to another who is himself a slave. The bill never came to a vote. But Pot-

ter's measure and his speech are preserved and have been reproduced among the public documents. In the spring of 1827, Potter returned to his home in Halifax to find his antagonists combining against him.

#### A PARTING SHOT

Thus matters stood between Potter and his enemies till July, 1827, when he shook the dust of Halifax off his feet and returned to his native county of Granville. But before leaving he fires a broadside, "drapping" into verse. The title page of this rather unusual document reads thus:

#### THE HEAD OF MEDUSA

A Mock-Heroic

#### POEM

Founded on Fact—in which "The Word is Suited to the Phrase, and the Phrase to the Action."

#### -BY-RIENZI

In hoc est hoax, cum quiz et jokesez, Et smokem toastem, roastem, folkses, Fee, faw, fum. Psalmanazar.

With baked, and broiled, and stewed, and toasted,
And Fried, and Boiled, and Smoked, and Roasted,
We treat the Town. Salmagundi.

Then where's the wrong to gibbet high the name Of fools and knaves, already dead to shame.

Halifax, N. Carolina, 14th July, 1827.

Following the title page comes the following:

#### DEDICATION

To

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The Village,

Once distinguished for "wit and wisdom, gaiety and grace," but NOTORIOUS NOW, as the haunt of swindlers, liars, and assassins, this Poem, descriptive of their manners, practices, sentiments and principles, is dedicated, with all imaginable contempt,

By

Rienzi.

Rienzi then publishes the "Author's Apology," in which he apologizes for the severity of his language and its bluntness, but insists that Sir Richard Steel, Horace, and Juvenal are his warrant. These masters of satire had said that you could no more reach the leaden sensibilities of people like those in Halifax with mild language than you could "chop blocks with a razor."

Then follows the "Plan and Character of the Poem," in which he charges that most of the villagers are liars or black-guards or cowards and that at least one is a mulatto of mixed blood. Then the poem proper, some three or four thousand lines.

Sad Village! As along the winding shore Of thy bold river, I revolve thy fate; Recall the splendor of thy days of yore, And view thee now so low and desolate, I muse in sorrow o'er the work of Time, Whose scythe on thee so cruelly hath dealt: Thy Eden once, is now a land of crime. And swindlers rule where Chiefs and Sages dwelt. No longer in thy hospitable halls Wit, Grace and Gallantry sustain their court, But low bred, stupid churls make up the balls, And pass the night in idiotic sport. Here, Faction broods in dark and fiendish state. Enthroned amidst her most devoted fools-The only object of their lives to hate. Their only knowledge, petty party rules.

The poem proceeds, selecting each one of Potter's enemies and flaying him alive. At the foot of each page are quotations and references to the classics, illustrating the points presented by the author. A single sample will suffice to show with what a heavy hand "Rienzi" wrote. Referring to his enemy, Mr. Bynum, he calls him a pious saint, willing that his friends and neighbors might be cudgeled or killed so he but saved himself,

A squinting, skipping, squatting, squalling elf—And yet he *struts*, and holds a lofty tone,
The *Harlequin*, in courage, of the town;

A peacock-knight, whose shabby feet have shown How quick, when press'd he lays his honors down; And talks in an affected style of pity, Towards men, who look as proudly down on him, As would old Homer on this dogg'rel ditty.

When Potter left Halifax, needless to say, it was as though a tornado had passed over the little town; in fact almost at once the Honorable Jesse A. Bynum was sent to Congress, where he proved his courage by fighting a duel with Congressman Jenifer. But bedlam broke loose in Granville.

#### BEATING THE TOM TOMS

Arriving in Granville County, Potter immediately announced himself for the House of Commons on this platform: "Destruction of the State Bank, reduction of all salaries, and cutting down the fees and charges of attorneys, commissioners, and others. No judge to have a salary above a thousand dollars, no lawyer to have a fee above ten dollars." On these issues, Potter went to the people and was elected to the House of Commons by a great majority—a triumph, indeed, for the restless iconoclast, his canvass having been so brilliant it thrilled the state and swept him into the halls of Congress. In August, he had been elected to the legislature; in November, three months later, he was sent to Congress—the main issue being the destruction of the banks.

When Robert Potter went up to the legislature at Raleigh in November, 1828, he was the most talked about young man in the state, and by all odds the most dashing, the most debonaire. His fierce black eye piercing one to the very marrow, his leonine bearing crushing the timid, his Byronic ensemble crowning a prince of demagogues, he was a moving, passion-

ate, mob orator without an equal.

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At once Potter offered his famous resolutions. These resolutions directed the Attorney General to indict the State Bank and its officers for corruption, and to annul and revoke its charter. At that time the only worth while issue before the legislature was covered by these resolutions of Potter. Famine almost stalked the land, people were leaving the state by thou-

sands, agriculture was depressed, farms were sold for taxes. These panicky, perilous times were indeed water for Potter's wheel. On his feet daily, the intrepid legislator hurled his thunderbolts right and left.

The bank's stockholders had acquired their holdings in exchange for depreciated currency, Potter insisted. The bank was making the farmers pay their debts in specie, charging them the outrageous and usurious rate of twelve per cent. It was speculating in cotton, it was a menace to society, and its officers criminal. "For my part," exclaimed the excited Potter. "if this iniquitous institution dare send the sheriff or its henchmen to the County of Granville to collect its blood money, I'll lead the crowd and cudgel the rascals from our midst! Close up the bank and put its officers and stockholders in jail. No longer shall the people toil like asses for its benefit." When the vote was taken on the resolutions 59 members voted "Aye" and 58 "Nay." The speaker. Thomas Settle, voted no, making it a tie, and then voted again to break the tie. Potter lost his resolution by one vote. Never had the capitol in Raleigh rung with such fiery invective, never had the conservatives, headed by Judge Gaston and Governor Swain, been in greater danger, Gaston pitifully appealing to his comrades not to pass the bill, for if the Attorney General brought his suit and succeeded, the state would go bankrupt; if he failed, it would be disgraced.

The legislature adjourned in February, 1829, and Potter, after offering his resignation, took his seat in the Congress that convened the following December, "Old Hickory" Jackson, his chief, having just entered the White House. In Congress Potter waged warfare along the old lines, advocating the sale of public lands for the benefit of the states and for the improvement of rivers and harbors. On May 10, he offered resolutions which would have put the United States Bank out of business. These resolutions declared that the Constitution did not authorize the establishment of a bank to manufacture money out of paper, that if it did it was unwise and inexpedient to do so, and that any way paper money was injurious to labor and dangerous to the liberty of the people.

By a vote of 89 to 66, the resolution was tabled, because its consideration would depreciate and probably destroy the bank's stock.

### POTTERIZING A PREACHER

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Potter was not reelected to Congress in 1831. In truth, in August of that year he committed a crime, the enormity and savagery of which have never been paralleled, perhaps, in American civilized life. August 28, 1831, fell on Sunday. Potter was at home that day with his wife, a good woman, of good North Carolina and Virginia stock, a Miss Pelham. Mrs. Potter had two cousins who often visited the home, Reverend Louis Taylor, a minister of the Methodist Church, about fifty-five years old, and Louis Wiley, a youth of seventeen. Potter had conceived a dark, malignant hatred for these two men and had charged his wife with criminal intimacy with both. That day, Sunday August 28, Taylor came out to Potter's on a visit, not knowing Potter's feelings towards him. Potter laid the charge of adultery on Taylor and after a few angry words, pounced on him like a wild beast, beating him senseless. He then whipped out his keen sharp blade and castrated the man, "Potterized" him. Putting him to bed, he told him that if he would keep quiet, his disgrace would not get out. "I have been very merciful and kind to you." Potter vouchsafed, "I have spared your life!"

Potter then set forth in search of Wiley, who lived three or four miles nearer Oxford than Reverend Mr. Taylor's home. Finding Wiley at home, Potter sprang upon him like a tiger, treating him as he had Taylor. Returning to his home, Potter found Taylor doing well and Mrs. Potter sitting in her bedroom alone. That night Mrs. Potter's brother and a Colonel Gilliam, together with Dr. Taylor, arrived on the scene. Potter informed them what he had done, and told them to go in the bedroom and see Mrs. Potter and ascertain from her if his suspicions were not correct. This one or more of them did, and on returning stated, so Potter claims, that Mrs. Potter had confessed her guilt. The parties always stoutly denied the declaring that Potter was a downright liar.

Next day, Monday, August 29, Potter was arrested and put in jail without being permitted to give bond, because it was claimed that his victims were in danger of dving and, under these circumstances, bail was not allowable. On the following first Monday in September, he was tried in Oxford before Robert Strange, an eminent judge, and a jury. No lawyer would or did appear for him and he therefore represented himself and, it must be said, had a fool for a client. His plea was the unwritten law, the sanctity of the marriage bed, but he seems to have been without any evidence except his own on this point. As the case progressed, his main defense, as in Halifax, was persecution. He charged that rich rogues, harpies, lawyers, and bank officials were persecuting him and dogging him because of his efforts to relieve the people from oppression. He likewise charged that he was denied bail, socked in jail, kept there so he could not see the people face to face, and tell them his wrongs. If he could but look the people in the face, get their ear, he had no fear. Though Taylor and Wiley had never been in danger of dving and he was therefore entitled to bail, bail had been denied him on a writ of Habeas Corpus.

Potter was convicted of the charge of maim and sentenced to jail for two years and to pay a fine of a thousand dollars. The next legislature met in November and the people of the state were so outraged by Potter's act that a bill was passed making his crime an offense punishable with death, "without benefit of clergy." Now, benefit of clergy means that one who is educated and can read, shall not suffer death for certain offenses. A curious thing connected with the exemption of an educated man from the gallows is the way many an ignoramus in that day would save his neck. He would commit to memory the first verse of the 51st Psalm-called the "neck verse." as it saved his neck-and spout that verse on the day of the hanging as an evidence of literacy, thereby escaping the gallows. To this day, it may be said the aforesaid verse is still known as the neck verse. Anyhow, anyone who should thereafter "Potterize" another was to be hung without the benefit of clergy.

A strange thing about Potter's incarceration may be here mentioned. He was not imprisoned in the Oxford jail, where ordinarily he would have been, but in the Hillsboro jail, some distance away. This, as Potter claimed, was done to keep him from meeting and seeing the people of Granville from his jail window. In truth, it may be said, that from August 29, 1831, the day Potter was put in the Granville County jail, to September 5 following, during these six terrible days, vast crowds, followers of Potter, gathered around the Oxford jail. Potter, from the jail windows poured forth such streams of abuse. such assaults on his rich and powerful persecutors, as had never been heard before, and was making an impression which must be overcome by his immediate removal from the county. Such was Potter's contention. And he was plagued near right-but give the man a shake at the dear people and he never could be headed off. And this chance at the people, he

soon got.

In 1832, from his jail in Hillsboro, he issued a rip-snorting "Address to the People of Granville County," a bloodcurdling, hair-raising, spiteful classic. He called on the people to stand by him, claiming that the sanctity of his home had been invaded and that he should be applauded and not punished for chastising the adulterers. As to Henry Seawell, his volunteer prosecutor, and other bank lawyers, they ought to be in jail right then, for they were charging extortionate fees, more than ten dollars allowed by the statute. "I had branded Seawell for a villain to his teeth when I was in the legislature, and he submitted like a chastised hound. My persecutors are thieves and defaulters, one of them, clerk of the court, is fattening on unlawful guardian fees." In conclusion, Potter insisted that the gentry had denied him justice and that he despised their approbation and defied their malice. "It is to the people, the people of Granville that I speak—and if even now they will do me and themselves justice and no longer submit to be browbeat and gulled by the villains who have transported me from among them, I will forget all that is past." This pamphlet of Potter's was broadcasted over Granville County and bore fruit.

#### RE-ELECTION TO THE LEGISLATURE

Immediately the jail doors were flung open, Potter hastened to Granville and announced his candidacy for the House of Commons, and *mirabile dictu*, hell and Maria, was elected! Elected to a legislature which had just voted he should have been hung by the neck without the benefit of clergy! But what a canvass that was! To this day the canvass of 1834 is known as the "Potter War."

Not only was Potter's character involved in the fight, but also the character of Taylor and Wiley, his victims, and of his wife, who had got a divorce, resumed her maiden name, and had the two children in her possession. Potter himself was never more powerful on the stump, justifying his conduct, attacking his enemies, and setting neighbors by the ear. The people, lashed into a passion by the fiery man, often engaged in a free-for-all fight and, on one occasion, the Potterites and the anti-Potterites barricaded themselves in neighboring stores and fired volley after volley out of doors and windows. In 1870, when I was a boy and at school at Oxford, bullets imbedded in window sills during the Potter War were still visible, and Louis Wiley, one of Potter's victims, could sometimes be seen wandering around town, his face shrunken and the color of whitleather-the old gentleman so much afraid of thunder and lightning he would hasten to the school and hide himself until a storm was over.

Reaching the capital and taking his seat in the legislature of 1834, Potter found the House in the control of his enemies and solidly massed against him. They would not fight him a duel and they were no match for him in debate. They therefore concluded to get rid of him in some other way. This, Potter claimed, they did. In January, 1835, the moving orator, the magnetic daredevil was expelled. And for what? He had been playing a game of cards unfairly, contrary to the rules! The vote to expel stood 62 to 52, and in the minority were some of the ablest men in the House. Undoubtedly Potter's real offense was not gambling, but the maiming of Taylor and Wiley.

#### OFF FOR TEXAS

Unconscious of guilt and with head high in the air. Bob Potter now set out for Texas, seething in its revolution with Mexico. His objective was Nacogdoches. In that far famed region, the wanderer hauled up in the summer of 1835, and hardly had he got off his horse before the people elected him to the Texas Constitutional Convention. The magnetic man. with his classic speech and courtly manner, simply captured Texas in an instant. Just then Texas was coming to grips with Mexico. Thousands of Americans had settled in Texas and independence was in the air, a matter of but a short time. It was the foolhardiness of Mexico, however, that precipitated the event. Austin, one of the first citizens of Texas. had been unlawfully imprisoned, and Texas affairs had been badly managed by Mexico. But the bold cunning adventurers who had arrived in the Lone Star State needed no excuse for revolution, they were rearing to break loose from Mexico.

The Constitutional Convention met in Washington, Texas, early in the year 1836. By March 1, it had formulated and drawn up the Texas Declaration of Independence. On March 2, this historic paper was promulgated, announcing to the world that Texas was free. The Honorable Robert Potter appended his name to this instrument, and became a signer of the Texan Declaration of Independence. A constitution had also to be written, and Colonel Potter, as he was now called, was assigned to this task along with others. A civil and military government was likewise to be organized. The Convention elected Sam Houston general of the armies, and David G. Burnet, provisional president. To the Honorable Robert Potter the Convention gave the high and honorable office of Secretary of the Navy of Texas.

Before the new government could organize and put troops in the field, the Mexicans under Santa Anna were upon them, rushing down on defenseless San Antonio, with rifle and knife. Colonel Travis, backed up by Bowie and Crockett and 156 determined followers, took refuge in the Alamo. Daily Travis sent forth to the people of Texas appeals for help.

Finally the doom of the Alamo was apparent. Travis called his little band together and, drawing a line with his sword in the sand, exclaimed, "Men willing to die for Texas, over on this side!" Every man of them crossed over except one, even Bowie, sick and on his bed, requesting that he be carried across the line.

Each morning old Sam Houston, some miles away, was listening to catch the boom of cannon, the signal that the Alamo had not yet fallen. The blood of Bob Potter was roused by Travis's appeal, memories of his fighting days overcame him, and he moved that the civil government do forthwith disband, marching to the Alamo and take their stand with Travis and die with the brave hundred and fifty-six. But wise old Houston opposed the motion. A civil government was as necessary as the military one, he insisted. Potter's motion to join in the fight was lost. A few days later, Sam Houston listened in vain for the sound of booming cannon. The fate of the Alamo was sealed—every man of them killed or taken prisoner and shot like dogs by the bloody Santa Anna.

"Remember the Alamo!" now became the battle cry, and with that cry, in less than sixty days, the fierce Texans under Houston had demolished the Mexican army at San Jacinto and captured Santa Anna, their president. But a serious question remained: What should be done with Santa Anna? "Shoot him," shouted Colonel Potter, joined in by Mirabeau Bonaparte Lamar's, "he has murdered innocent prisoners and is the butcher of the Alamo and of Goliad." But the civil government would not have it so, and it was determined to spare the man's life. This was done, no doubt exchanging Texas independence at the hands of Santa Anna for the bloody man's miserable life. To the very last, Potter and Lamar insisted that Santa Anna should be shot and never reversed their thumbs. A treaty of peace was soon signed, and President Santa Anna recognized Texan independence.

The provisional government of Texas was not a howling success. Among other troubles, Robert Potter was at outs with Sam Houston. Houston had run away from Santa Anna, Potter claimed, and had seized twenty thousand dol-

lars from the Mexicans and divided it amongst his troops. This, as Potter claimed, was wrong, the money should have been turned into the treasury. Potter offered resolutions to depose Houston, but the resolutions failed. Many a clash did these angry bulls, Houston and Potter, have. In those fierce early days, as members of the Texan Congress, they often locked horns.

The historians of Texas assert that no other member of the Texan Congress did General Houston fear so much as Colonel Potter, who had all the English poets at his tongue's end. was a rare genius, gifted and eloquent. "Besides," this writer continues, "he was an expert logician, quick at repartee, fluent, and at the same time a fine actor." A North Carolina historian likewise lauds Potter to the skies, declaring that he had the genius and power of Achilles, and an address that would grace any court in Europe.

# MEETING HIS MATCH AT LAST

After Texan Independence was declared and the provisional government had come to an end, the roving Potter sought rest at last, betaking himself to a country estate of 4,605 acres which he had acquired under a headright grant near Soda Lake, in the Red River country. Here he would enjoy life, engaging in the sport of hunting and fishing. 1836, he had met a Mrs. Ames in Austin, and become infatuated with her. But marry her, or any other woman, he declared he never would. The lady, consenting to an arrangement of some kind, went to sea with Secretary Potter on his flagship and finally moved to Soda Lake, ran the Potter home and bore Potter two children.

Of the famous promontory jutting out into Soda Lake, we read that it abounds in game and cool fountains of pure water and splendid facilities for fishing and ducking. The place is called Potter's Point, and this was Colonel Potter's home. "Here he hunted, fished, and killed ducks to his heart's content, and then retired to his library and indulged his fondness for reading." Thus the Colonel's life flowed on somewhat more tranquilly at the age of forty-two than earlier, when the heyday was in the blood. But the people of that section, now Marion County, would not suffer their far famed fellow citizen to rest at home and enjoy its comforts. Despite the opposition of the Regulators and Moderators, the Colonel was elected to the Texan Senate, serving in the Fifth and Sixth Congresses of the Texas Republic. There his career was exceptionally fine, no senator being more respected or honored. President Burnet said of Colonel Potter that his heart was as open as day to melting charity and his patriotism of the purest kind.

In the Sixth Congress, Senator Potter offered resolutions of outlawry against Captain William P. Rose, one of the Moderators, who had fought him in the recent senatorial race. These resolutions were adopted and Congress soon adjourned. Surrounded by enemies, Colonel Potter knew full well his life was not worth a pin's value and at any moment he might be killed. He therefore prepared for the worst and before leaving Austin made his last will and testament. By this instrument, which the Supreme Court upheld in 1875, he gave his land, since developed into oil bearing properties, to a Mrs. Mayfield, and a portion of his estate to his common law wife. The Colonel then set out for Soda Lake with the outlawry papers against Rose in his pocket—he was going gunning for

that gentleman.

One morning, between daylight and sunrise, in March 1842, Colonel Potter and a party of fifteen or twenty followers galloped up to Rose's house with the intention of capturing him. The bed was still warm, and evidently the Captain was not far away. The posse hot on his trail stalked the outlaw to the new ground where Negro slaves were clearing up the land. But they failed to locate their quarry. Captain Rose, seeing his enemies approach, had laid down on the ground and ordered his slaves to cover him with brush. He then set fire to the heap. Potter and his party, rushing forward and seeing no place of concealment except the burning brush, concluded Rose had escaped, and galloped off in further pursuit. Rose, somewhat scorched, crawled out of his hiding place, mounted

his steed, summoned his partisans, and next morning before day—it being March 2, 1842, Texas Independence Day—surrounded Potter's house. The Colonel, in night clothes, broke through the enemies' line, plunged headlong into the lake, and dived and swam for his life, but as he raised his head above the water to get breath, it was riddled with bullets. John W. Scott, a son-in-law of Rose, fired the fatal shot.

In the home on the hill hard by, a woman sat desolate, yet she could not believe her dare-devil spouse, who had ridden a thousand stormy seas, had been killed. Imagining he had made his escape and was hiding in the pocoson, she vainly walked up and down the banks of the lake, three nights and three days, blowing a conch shell to let her husband know all danger had passed. But the restless soul answered not—Robert Potter's last battle had been fought. In the course of nature, his lifeless body came to the surface, and was buried on the bank of the lake, just outside the curtilage, in the bosom of a state he loved and served so well.\*

<sup>\*</sup> Potter's remains have recently been removed and reinterred in the Texas State Cemetery at Austin.

# MEDICAL PRACTICE IN THE OLD SOUTH

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I

THE OLD SOUTH failed to keep step in progress, economically or culturally, with the Old North. Northerners blamed this on the South, in terms of climate and slavery; Southerners blamed it on the Yankees, in terms of tariff and abolitionism. Both theses were partly true, but both were exaggerated and incomplete. Other factors than those noted made for cultural lag in Dixie.

One of these was the disease situation, which varied somewhat in the two sections, and on the whole tended to be more serious in the South. Frontier conditions prevailed there to a greater degree, and such conditions were always conducive to malarial fevers, since there was little opportunity in new clearings to drain the land, or to determine the most healthful locations prior to settlement.1 The longer summers and more steady heat of the South encouraged insect life associated with malaria, yellow fever, dengue, and typhoid; made more difficult the preservation of food; complicated sanitary problems; and was responsible for such a folk habit as going barefooted, which in turn resulted in hook-worm infection. Finally, the institution of slavery involved in some areas a routine diet which caused common parasitic infections, andit may be-serious malnutrition diseases not yet definitely identified. Along the lower Mississippi and the Gulf, e.g. there obtained the dreaded cachexia africana or dirt-eating disease of the West Indies: which doubtless involved a severe

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>A detailed discussion of the conditions conducive to the "autumnal fevers" is given in Daniel Drake, *Principal Diseases of the Interior Valley of North America*, etc., (Cincinnati, 1850), pp. 709 ff, 819. There was a general tendency, as malaria decreased with the development of a settlement, for typhoid to take its place; but the two commonly overlapped. See, e.g. S. C. Farrar, "General Report on the . . . Diseases of Jackson, Miss." in E. D. Fenner, (ed) *Southern Medical Reports*, I. 349, 350, 357 (New Orleans, 1850).

form of hook-worm infection, but which in the writer's opinion was also suggestive at times of beri-beri.<sup>2</sup>

It is hardly necessary to elaborate upon the economic handicap suffered by the South as a result of these conditions.<sup>3</sup> A few Southern physicians had already begun, as early as 1850, to adopt the now common procedure of calculating losses by illness in terms of dollars and cents. It was claimed at that time, for example, that the cost of disease and death in New Orleans alone totaled about \$45,000,000 annually, an average expense of \$105 per capita. The mortality rate of this city was estimated to be as high as 8.1% of the population, which was almost three times the contemporary rates in London, New York, and Philadelphia.<sup>4</sup>

New Orleans, popularly known as "the graveyard of the Southwest," was of course a peculiarly horrible example. There were, in contrast, certain areas in the South such as the upper piedmont of the Carolinas and Georgia, or certain cities such as Charleston, in which the public health was reported to be quite "salubrious." This may be accounted for by certain conditions which in part compensated the South for the disadvantages noted. The winters were obviously kind to the aged and the poor. Since there were few large cities,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See, e.g. John Hunter, Observations on the Diseases of the Army in Jamaica, etc., (Lon., 3 ed., 1808), pp. 248-250; J. B. Dazille, Observations sur les Maladies des Nègres, etc., (Paris, 1776), I. 342 ff.; W. M. Carpenter, "Observations on the Cachexia Africana," etc., New Orleans Med. Jour., I. 146-168 (1844); T. W. Craigin, "Observations on Cachexia Africana or Dirt-Eating," Amer. Jour. of the Med. Sciences, XXXIV, 356 ff. (1854); J. B. Duncan, "On the Diseases of the Parish of St. Mary, La.," So. Med. Rep'ts., I. 194, 195, H. T. Catterall, Judicial Cases Concerning American Negro Slavery, (Wash., 1926), I. 315, 342, 464. Cf. C. W. Stiles, Report upon . . Hookworm Disease in the United States (Treasury Dept. Hygiene Laboratory Bull. No. 10, Wash., 1903), p. 36; and Edward B. Vedder, "Some Further Remarks on Beri-Beri," Amer. Jour. of Tropical Diseases and Preventive Med., I. 826-847 (1914).

<sup>a</sup> The effect of hook-worm disease on the "poor whites" of the Old South. is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The effect of hook-worm disease on the "poor whites" of the Old South, is noted in various works; see references in R. H. Shryock, Georgia and the Union, (Durham, 1926), p. 75, p. 33.

Ourham, 1926), p. 75, n. 33.

<sup>a</sup> J. C. Simonds, "On the Sanitary Condition of New Orleans, Illustrated by its Mortuary Statistics," So. Med. Rep'ts., II. (1851) 215, 231-237. It is of incidental interest that Simonds used slave values in calculating the value of whites lost by disease. Cf. Irving Fisher, Report on National Vitality, (Wash., 1909), p. 117 ff.

disease. Cf. Irving Fisher, Report on National Vitality, (Wash., 1909), p. 117 ff.

J. G. de Roulhae Hamilton (ed.), The Ruffin Papers, IV. 133 (Raleigh, 1920);
So. Med. Rep'ts. II. 419; Trans. Amer. Med. Asso., IX, 431-481 (1856); Boston Med. and Surg. Jour., IV. 103 (1831); Josiah Nott, "Health and Longevity in the Southern Scaports," Southern Jour. of Med. and Pharmacy, II. 1 ff. (1847). Nott's article presents the best case for the relative salubrity of the South. See also J. D.
B. De Bow, Industrial Resources of the Southern and Western States, II, 83-92.

there were few slums and, presumably for this reason, one heard relatively little of typhus and the venereal diseases. The latter, however, were apparently common in towns of any size, and occasionally spread from them to the plantations.6 Again, the upper piedmont and mountain areas were sufficiently high and dry to avoid most of the endemic fevers. Last, but not least, the South escaped some of the chronic drunkenness which so complicated the disease problem of the Northern slum, in so far as masters displayed a vested interest in the sobriety of slaves.7

Statistical comparisons of the health of the sections were attempted as early as the forties, and while obviously unreliable, are interesting as expressions of a state of mind. One enterprising Northern authority8 found, on the basis of the census of 1840, that of 100 babies born there would be alive at the end of five years:

In	New Hampshire	94			
In	In Massachusetts				
In	North Carolina	79.7			
In	Mississippi	72.5			

These, or similar data, must have impressed the actuaries of the period, for life insurance companies were in the habit of charging one per cent more premium on Southern risks. Outsiders were certainly convinced that the South was a relatively dangerous country. Of course they exaggerated, as in the case of the observer who solemnly declared in 1795 that no native of "Petersborough [Virginia] had ever lived beyond

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> So. Med. Rep'ts., I. 24; So. Med. and Surg. Jour., III. 209 (1838), N. S., I. 16, 17, 682, 683 (1845); H. I. Catterall, Judicial Cases Concerning American Negro Slavery, II. (Wash., 1929), 320, 321, 577. U. B. Phillips, Life and Labor in the Old South, (Boston, 1929), p. 321. Cf. Practical Rules for the Management and Medical Treatment of Negro Slaves in the Sugar Colonies, By a Professional Planter, (Lon., 1811), pp. 348-353. Typhus also occurred at times in slave quarters; see J. D. B. De Bow, Industrial Resources of the Southern and Western States, New Orleans, 1852, II. 338.

<sup>\*</sup>Selling liquor to slaves was usually forbidden by law, though there was of course considerable "boot-legging." For court methods in dealing with violations thereof, see Catterall, op. cii., II. 570, etc.

\*John Spare, Hunts Merchants Mag. XIII. 497 ff. Cf. Nott, op. cit., for the

fallacies in these figures.

the age of twenty-one years." Yet the Southern people themselves had their misgivings and were prone to view the North as a promised land of health, to which those of means escaped each year during the summer season.

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In view of all these circumstances, it is of some interest to inquire as to what measures the Southland took to control disease. Was it as ready to defend itself against the economic loss and human suffering thus occasioned, as it was against such financial losses as were threatened by tariff or abolition? The question can be answered, in large part, in terms of the development of medical science and a medical profession, since these agencies were the most obvious ones directed towards the social control of disease.

#### TT

The early nineteenth century witnessed several scientific achievements which promised much for the health of the Most obvious was the introduction of vaccination. within a year or two of its discovery in England. Less generally known, but scarcely less significant, was the isolation of quinine from cinchona by French chemists in 1822,10 as a result of which the employment of quinine sulphate in large doses was gradually introduced by Southern physicians during the ensuing decade. The new remedy was a more potent one than crude cinchona, and its use checked the high mortality occasioned by certain forms of malarial fever. 11 At the same time, an increasing consciousness of the prophylactic value of land drainage manifested itself in the towns, which consequently undertook measures most creditable to them in view of the small means at their disposal. Thus Savannah began in 1817, when it had a population of only about five thousand, to eliminate rice fields in its vicinity, and eventually appropriated two hundred thousand dollars to subsidize the planters involved in this abandonment of the "wet culture."

Robt. Jackson, . . . Observations on the Intermitting Fever of America. (Phila., 1795), p. 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> MM. Pelletier et Carenton, "Recherches Chimiques sur les Quinquinas," Annales De Chimie Et De Physique, 2 Ser., XV. 289 ff. (1822).
<sup>11</sup> So. Med. Rep'ts., II. 347-350, 402-407, 450; So. Med. and Surgical Jour., N. S.

XVI. 796 (1860).

Within a decade of the beginning of this work (undertaken at the behest of physicians), the mortality rate had dropped to less than half its former figure, apparently as a result of the drainage operations.12

Unfortunately, the partial control of small-pox and malaria which followed these developments was concomitant with the appearance of new and ominous diseases, notably cholera and yellow fever. Both attained pandemic proportions and invaded the Northern ports as well as the Southern; but yellow fever practically disappeared from the former after 1820, at the very time that some of the most serious Southern epidemics began. Yellow fever was largely restricted to the towns-for reasons now easily understoodand attacked chiefly the whites;18 while cholera, more catholic in its taste, spread everywhere along commercial routes and drew no color line. The appearance of this "scourge of nations" on a plantation was a truly terrifying phenomenon. Overseers and slaves died within a few hours of the first appearance of symptoms. When cholera attacked Bishop Polk's Louisiana plantation in 1849, 220 of his 356 Negroes contracted the disease within two weeks' time, and 70 deaths ensued. The conditions obtaining during such a visitation can scarcely be imagined.14

Physicians the world over sought desperately but unavailingly for preventative or cure. Opium was approved as a remedy in Glasgow, and condemned in London; approved in Augusta and spurned in Savannah. One Southern practitioner, after trying sixteen different medicines and a half dozen special procedures in addition, observed philosophically that "it has been well impressed on my mind that there is no

<sup>&</sup>quot;Thos. Gamble, Jr., Hist. of the Municipal Government of Savannah, (appended to mayor's annual rep't. for 1900) pp. 141-146; F. D. Lee and J. L. Agnew, Historical Record of Savannah, (Sav., 1869), p. 186.

"This is indicated in mortality rates, as well as in contemporary accounts. The mortality rate of Savannah in 1854, when there was a yellow fever epidemic, was 9.79% for whites and only 3.43% for Negroes; W. Duncan, Tabulated Mortality Record of . . . Savannah, (Sav., 1870), p. 36.

"W. A. Booth, "On the Cholera of Lafourche Interior," So. Med. Rep'ts. I. 221. See also other reports on cholera-ibid. L. 359 ft., 371 ff., etc.

<sup>221.</sup> See also other reports on cholera, ibid., I. 359 ff., 371 ff., etc.

one remedy for cholera."15 Practical plantation observers did indeed declare that the exclusive use of pure rain water would prevent the disease; but here, as in other cases, empirical observation was in advance of the rational medicine of its day.

Meanwhile, vellow fever was even more baffling. At times it seemed a native product, at times an imported one. Now it seemed clearly contagious, again it was obviously non-contagious. Physicians who considered it non-contagious clamored for the removal of quarantines-and the merchants clamored with them. Others, backed by an hysterical public, demanded the traditional protection. Looking back, it is easy to find in insect transmission a key to all the apparently contradictory phenomena of vellow fever; but lacking that key, there was no problem more difficult of solution.16

Too much attention, however, should not be accorded the epidemics, for despite their spectacular and terrifying character, they were rarely so serious a menace as were the endemic ills-indeed they exerted a benign influence in arousing a demand for sanitary reform, which was more than the domesticated diseases could do. It follows that the routine treatment of ordinary illness was probably, from the social point of view, the most significant aspect of medical practice.17 Now this cannot be measured entirely in terms of such information as was available to science. One must first ask: to what extent did Southern practitioners achieve a knowledge of such science as was then available, and, second, to what extent did they apply that knowledge pro bono publico?

<sup>25</sup> C. H. Stone, "Report on Epidemic Cholera in the Vicinity of Natchez," ibid.,

<sup>364.

38</sup> There are many accounts of the yellow fever epidemics; see G. D. Armstrong, The Summer of Pestilence: A History of the Ravages of Yellow Fever in Norfolk, 1855, (Phila., 1856); The Arnold Letters, p. 68 ff.; E. D. Fenner, "The Fevers of New Orleans," So. Med. Rep'ts. I. 106 ff., etc. A good picture of the confusion in medical opinion re this disease, is afforded in the long and tense debates in the Third National Quarantine and Sanitary Convention (N. Y., 1859); see Proceedings of that body, pp. 23-83.

37 See M. P. Ravenel, "Endemic Diseases Versus Acute Epidemics," Amer. Jour. of Pub. Health, X. 761 ff. (1920); R. H. Shryock, "Origins and Significance of the Public Health Movement in the United States," Annals of Medical History, N. S., I. 645, 656 n. 12. The technical side of general practice, and its bases in contemporary pathology, therapeutics, etiology, etc., cannot be entered into here.

#### Ш

Most regular American physicians, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, had been trained only by a preceptor, and there is no evidence that they read widely thereafter. The lack of urban cultural centers in the South retarded the development of medical schools and other professional institutions. In communities able to support several physicians, each viewed the others as so many competitors, and adopted at best an attitude of "armed neutrality" towards them. <sup>18</sup> Such conditions were not conducive to the rapid transit of medical culture from its center in Edinburgh to its periphery in Arkansas.

During the colonial period, as is well known, Americans occasionally went abroad for their medical training, and Charleston at one time boasted a larger number of such graduates than any other American town. It remained for the larger Northern cities, however, to take the next step necessary for the transfer of medical culture to this country; viz. to establish native schools, hospitals, societies, and journals. The consequence was that such Southerners as aspired to formal training were gradually diverted, after about 1800, from European institutions to the more conveniently located schools in Philadelphia, New York, and Lexington. In like manner, the first cities named partially replaced foreign centers in the manufacture of medical supplies for the Southern trade. It was obvious that medical dependence on the North was an established fact by 1830.

Certain influences, however, were destined to arouse a protest against this dependence within a decade. The continued growth of some six or eight Southern cities promoted a corresponding growth of professional consciousness therein. Hospitals were established,<sup>20</sup> and local medical societies or-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> So. Jour. of Med. and Pharmacy, I. 1 (1846); So. Med. Rep'ts., II. 458.
<sup>39</sup> Of 144 men graduating from the Medical School of the University of Pennsylvania in 1838—a year taken at random—more than half were Southerners. There were 40 Virginians in contrast to 21 Pennsylvanians; Amer. Jour. of the Med. Sciences, XXII. 259-263 (1838). See also So. Med. and Surg. Jour., N. S., II. 383 (1846).
<sup>30</sup> The early history of the largest such institution in the ante-bellum South, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> The early history of the largest such institution in the ante-bellum South, the Charity Hospital of New Orleans, is given in the New Orleans Med. Jour., I. 72-77 (1844).

ganized—once the jealousies of the "small town" practitioner could be partially overcome. Thus the "Georgia Medical Society" of Savannah was founded as early as 1804, and most Southern cities boasted such organizations by 1830. State societies, promoted by the local bodies, appeared about two decades later, but received a rather uncertain support from the profession at large. Meanwhile, a number of able physicians in Augusta had made in 1836 the first formal attempt to organize a national medical association; only to have the move thwarted (they claimed) by the indifference or opposition of the University of Pennsylvania.<sup>21</sup> When the plan was again taken up by the New York State Medical Society (1846), Southern leaders coöperated in the organization and early administration of the American Medical Association.

Professional leaders in the larger Southern towns were naturally the first to envisage a sectional medical culture sufficiently mature to provide its own training centers. They had found that Northern or foreign training had not entirely prepared them for the Southern scene. Southern diseases had their peculiarities, apparently unknown to Yankee professors-and so had Southern Negroes! Under these circumstances the native professional school, treating of native conditions, seemed to be indicated.22 It remained for urban medical groups to risk the venture. Charleston, the oldest scientific center in the South, was appropriately enough the site of its first medical school-the "Medical College of the State of South Carolina," established in 1823. At almost the same time, a Medical Department was organized at the University of Virginia. Similar institutions were founded during the next decade at Augusta (1832), New Orleans (1835), and Richmond (1838). These pioneer colleges adopted the standards which then obtained among the better Northern schools (involving a four or five months' course of lectures plus preceptorial requirements) and compared favorably with most of the older institutions. They eventually received

25 So. Med. and Surg. Jour., I. 220 (1836).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Paul Eve, E. D. Fenner, and Samuel Cartwright were the leading advocates for Southern training; see So. Med. Rep'ts., I. 354, II. 423, New Orleans Med. and Surg. Jour., II. 731 (1846).

some assistance from state or local governments, and steadily increased their enrollments until 1861.<sup>23</sup>

No sooner had a faculty organized a college than it began looking about for ways and means to finance a journal. This was quite logically the next step in the establishment of an indigenous scientific culture,24 for a journal could represent the school and, at the same time, serve as a medium for professional exchange over a large area. The first such periodical printed south of the border states was the Southern Journal of Medicine and Surgery, established by Dr. Milton Antony at Augusta in 1836, discontinued at his death in '39, and reëstablished in '45. In the latter year Dr. E. D. Fenner founded the New Orleans Medical Journal, and shortly thereafter a Charleston group launched the Southern Journal of Medicine and Pharmacy. All were well edited and compared favorably with most of the Northern publications. They were followed, during the fifties, by acceptable journals at Nashville (1851), Richmond (1851), Savannah (1859), and, finally, by the short-lived Confederate States Medical and Surgical Reporter—published in the capital of the Confederacv.

Through the medium of their journals, the Southern faculties increasingly stressed the need for local training; and as the state medical societies began to publish their transactions, the same propaganda appeared therein. This naturally aroused some anxiety in the Northern schools, whence came occasional counter-blasts to the effect that Southern faculties were exploiting sectional feeling simply in order to increase the enrollment of their own schools. Both Paul Eve and Cartwright became involved in controversies with Northern professors, concerning the relative merit of the Southern institutions.<sup>25</sup> It is important to note that such friction pos-

The risks ventured and success attained are well illustrated in the case of the New Orleans college; see So. Med. Rep'ts., I. 461-463. Note also So. Med. and Surg. Jour., II. 703, III. 2, 3 (1837, 38); Savannah Med. Jour., II. 56 (1860), etc.

This phrase is used advisedly, as even at this late date the versatile type of physician was likely to be the leading local exponent of the natural sciences in the late of the property o

general. This interesting phase of medical history cannot be entered into here.

\*\*B. B. Mitchell, "Southern Versus Northern Practice," The Medical Examiner, N. S., IV. 591 ff. (Phila., 1848); New Orleans Med. Jour., III. 259 ff. (1846). It should be remembered, of course, that cordial relations existed between some Northern and Southern leaders; see, e.g. The Arnold Letters, passim.

sessed more than a purely professional significance.<sup>26</sup> While it is true that the development of medical institutions in the South was in large part simply a phase of cultural development going on throughout the nation, it was also characterized by considerable sectional consciousness. The very period of this medical development, 1820-1860, was also a time of increasing sectional tension all along the line; a tension which led in the South to a growing desire for cultural,<sup>27</sup> as well as for economic and (eventually) political independence of the North. Southern physicians therefore felt a sort of patriotic obligation to improve their guild and render it self-sustaining. Even their emphasis on the peculiarities of Negro diseases was associated with an emphasis upon the inherent biological distinctions between the races,<sup>28</sup> and this in turn was an integral part of the whole pro-slavery argument.

Southern leaders were not able, perhaps did not desire, to divert all Southern students from the Yankee schools. The years immediately preceding the Civil War, therefore, found these students representing—in certain cases—the largest Southern groups resident in Northern communities. As sectional feeling approached the breaking point, their presence

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> It is a curious fact that, after all their thunder, Southern faculties never introduced any courses dealing especially with Southern diseases or the Negroes; see Savannah Med. Jour., II. 61 (1860).

see Savannah Med. Jour., II. 61 (1860).

Note, eg.g. such verse as the following; taken from Georgia Illustrated; (Penfield, Ga., 1841):

Sons of the South, whose hearts beat high, With generous pride and aim
To make your land and birthplace vie With any land in fame.
While justly ye extoll the skies,
Your clime and fertile land,
The brightness of your maidens' eyes,
Their voices soft and bland . . .
While these ye boast and proudly dare
The world their peers to show,
Are ye content with humble share
Of gifts from mind, which flow? . . .
Sons of the South! shall it be said
Ye prize not mental store?
Oh! bid the fires of Genius spread

Our sunny region o'er.

See, e.g. J. C. Nott and G. R. Gliddon, Types of Mankind, etc. (Phila. 1854);
J. H. Van Evrie, Negroes and Negro Slavery, (New York, 1853). The former was edited by physicians.

became the occasion for various expressions of animosity. In Philadelphia there had been rumblings of this sort as early as 1837, but the storm broke in 1860, when some three hundred medical students left that city in a body for Richmond.29 Similar friction, in which no doubt the students played their part, developed in New York. In this connection, the editor of the New York Sun revealed the opinion entertained in some quarters of these men. "The Southern medical student," he observed kindly, "is well known in the neighborhood of 13th St., . . . & 4th Ave. He is a long-haired, lantern-jawed, verdant youth, afflicted with chronic salivation and inveterate profanity. Reared in the semi-savage solitude of a remote plantation, and deriving his ideas of morals, grammar, and behavior from his negro nurse and picaninny playmates, he becomes in New York a puzzle to professors, a terror to landladies, and a munificent patron of grogshops. Having finished his so-called course of study . . . he returns to his native wilds to commence practice on a pretentious stock of medical ignorance, calomel, and quinine. Next to his taste for tobacco and grog comes his taste for Disunion. Ignorant of law . . . his stock of political ideas consists wholly of hatred of the people to whom he is obliged to come for instruction." In noting this interesting tribute, the Nashville Medical and Surgical Journal inquired of "the young gentlemen of the South" how they "liked this picture." It is regrettable that their reply is not at hand.

One of the most interesting sectional controversies within the medical profession was that precipitated by Oliver Wendell Holmes when, in an interesting report to the American Medical Association in 1848, he referred to "the efflorescence of scientific enthusiasm on the banks of the Mississippi and Missouri," and to "inferior schools wrongly located" in these regions.<sup>81</sup> The discussion eventually descended to remarks on "Boston notions," Dr. Holmes' sophomoric style, and to a polite suggestion by the latter that Southern editors would do well to learn their own language.

So. Med. and Surg. Jour., N. S., XVI. 236 (1860).
 Savannah Med. Jour., II. 369, 370 (1861).
 The report is given in the A. M. A. Trans., I. 283-288.

There was, unfortunately, some truth in Dr. Holmes' "Boston notions." There were, by 1848, some "inferior schools wrongly located"-though they were not confined to any one section. What was worse, the number increased rapidly during the fifties. What was still worse, the lowering of educational standards in such colleges was associated with other influences making for a general demoralization of medical practice. The rapid extension of the Southern frontier after 1815 had opened up areas in which, as in any new country, the popular status of culture in general, and of medical science in particular, was inevitably low. Frontier farmers-Jacksonian Democrats—were not appreciative of professional training, and consequently were not inclined to make nice distinctions between regular and irregular practitioners. Moreover, a growing suspicion that the orthodox physicians were ineffective began to manifest itself even among the educated classes. At the same time the high disease rate noted, plus the ordinary needs of a growing population, created a great demand for doctors of some sort. These conditions resulted in an increasing patronage accorded to quackery,32 and such new sects as homeopathy, Thomsonianism, and hydropathy, and in the gradual abandonment of practically all state licensing restrictions. 33

Everyone was allowed to practice medicine by 1850, and it were only mild exaggeration to say that everyone did! Planters, housewives, overseers, pharmacists, sectarians, quacks-all had a hand in the game. Here and there a "doctress" without formal training anticipated and perhaps prepared the way for the later women physicians. 34 Such practice was not necessarily all bad. Most lay dabbling, however, de-

a Cartwright's study of quackery in Natchez convinced him that it was the Cartwright's study of quackery in Natchez convinced him that it was the cause of more deaths there than were all diseases put together! So. Med. and Surg. Jour.; N. S., IV. 767 (1848). See also his "Remarks on Statistical Medicine, Contrasting the Result of the Empirical with the Regular Practice of Physic," Amer. Jour. of the Med. Sciences, N. S., I. 271-275 (1841).

New York State Med. Soc. Proceeds., 1844, passim.

Catterall, Judicial Cases, II. 531, 576. The reaction of the Southern newspapers to the first regular women physicians was generally favorable. Even some doctors adopted a friendly attitude; see Savannah Med. Jour., II. 372, ff. (1860).

pended at best upon the family medical manuals, and, at worst, upon magic and sheer humbug. Even Negro slaves practiced in one way or another, and were in some cases consulted by the whites and allowed to give all their time to their profession.35 The following advertisement for patients, written by a Negro in 1860, is suggestive of a type of practice which survives in the work of negro mid-wives to the present day:

T. Edwards is naturally a Doctor-having a gift from the Lord. My mother was her mother's seventh daughter, and I am her seventh son . . . I am a seven months' child, and walked seven months after I was born, and have shed my teeth seven times.86

Such professional qualifications must, in certain circles, have proved irresistible.

In this connection, it should be observed that the medical care of Negro slaves was perhaps the most distinctive phase of Southern practice. The slaves were the only group of poor workers in whose health their employers had a direct property interest, and for whom they felt a direct personal responsibility; and for these reasons they sometimes received more care than did Southern "poor whites" or Northern laborers. It was not unknown for a white mistress to nurse slave babies so ill with diptheria that their own mothers feared to touch them. On some of the better plantations a carefully devised regimen and sanitary police were provided, as well as attendance by a regular physician.87 The leading practitioners were sometimes so employed, but more usually the beginnerssometimes upon a contract basis.88 Thus the young Southern

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Catterall, op. cit., II. 43, 144, 414, 520, 521. The Tennessee Court decided, 1844, that slaves should not practice—not out of fear for patients, but from fear such doctors might foment insurrections.

<sup>\*\*</sup>Cf. C. C. Van Blarcom, "Rat Pie: Black Midwives and Black Magic," Harpers Mag., CLX, 322-332 (Feb., 1930).

\*\*See, e.g. De Bow's Review, XXII. 38-44, as reprinted in J. S. Bassett, The

<sup>\*\*</sup>Contract practice was fairly common, at this time, in the case of the younger or less successful men, but was condemned by the leaders as cheap and unprofessional. The latter were almost as much concerned then over low fees (e.g. 25) or 50 cents a visit) as laymen are today over high charges. Average annual in-

physician found in slavery a means to an early start; while, at the same time, the slaves found in the system a sort of health insurance. Hence emancipation injured the practice of many doctors, and the health of many ex-slaves, since the former could not afford to attend a poor Negro, once he had become "nobody's nigger but his own."39

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Some evidence that this would be the case was collected, even before emancipation, by means of a comparison of the free Negro and slave Negro mortality rates. Nott claimed that the free Negro mortality in Northern cities was two to three times that of slaves in Charleston, remarking that "freedom and climate, combined in Boston, are far more destructive to the negro than slavery and Asiatic cholera at the South." Moreover, he found that in Baltimore, (where the climatic factor was a constant) the free Negro death rate was more than twice that of the slaves.40 Nott, however, was not on the reading lists of abolitionists.

The owner's concern for the health of his property expressed itself dramatically in times of epidemics, when the whole plantation personnel might be moved to a more salubrious location, even at the expense of the year's crop. It is easy to understand this, when it is recalled that the loss from slave deaths in one cholera epidemic in Louisiana alone (1833) was

comes for country practitioners in Alabama were reported as about one thousand dollars; for those in a small town, two thousand dollars (So. Med. Rep'ts., I. 257.) The itemized plantation bills of prominent physicians, however, do not seem so low. Thus Dr. Tomlinson Fort of Milledgeville received from Col. F. Carter, for services on the latter's place in Georgia, such amounts as the following:

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	1839	Ap. 1	N.M.	Visit 4 miles, 5.00, prescription.	\$ 6.00
		" 22		Negroes and son, med. and prescription.	2.00
		May 1		Negro child med.	1.00
		" 22	N.M.	Visit 4 miles 5.00. med, for gonorrhea	15.00
	1841	Ap. 7	N.	Visit 4 mi. & opg abcess	6.00
		May 13		Visit 4 miles in rain & med	7.00
		June 24		Visit noct. 4 mi	8.00

etc. etc. (Bills in possession of Dr. R. B. Flanders, of New York University.

etc. (Bills in possession of Dr. R. B. Flanders, of New York University. Differences in purchasing power are to be kept in mind).

\*\*\* Except, of course, as part of his charity work. For contemporary comment on post-emancipation suffering among negroes, see The Arnold Letters, pp. 129-131.

A survey of the whole subject is given in F. L. Hoffman, Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro (Pubs. Amer. Econom. Asso., XI.) 33 ff.

\*\*"Health and Longevity in the Southern Sea Ports," So. Jour. of Med. and Pharmacy, II. 138 (1847). See also Lemuel Shattuck's interesting notes on the Negro in Boston; "On the Vital Statistics of Boston," Amer. Jour. of the Med. Sciences, N. S., I. 371, 377 (1841).

estimated at four million dollars!<sup>41</sup> Again, when extra-hazardous work was to be done, as ditch-digging in a malarial region, Irish laborers were sometimes employed to save the slaves.<sup>42</sup> Traders, as well as permanent owners, showed concern for their property in times of special danger, and would take their gangs to the pines to avoid the same. Incidentally, the domestic slave trade—like the foreign before it—was a factor in the spread of disease. Thus Natchez, a trading center, witnessed an almost annual introduction of contagious diseases via the gangs brought in for sale.<sup>43</sup>

The property right in slave patients occasionally placed physicians in a peculiar legal position; as when one was sued by a planter for the loss of a slave committed to his care. It also seems strange, from our present point of view, that a master might order medical procedure, such as an operation, without regard to the wishes of a slave patient. Last, but not least curious, was the fact that a perversion of the property interest actually might prevent a sick slave from receiving medical attention, whenever an indifferent owner was convinced the case was hopeless.

This last situation, rare though it was, suggests the other side of the story—there were disadvantages in slavery as a system of health insurance. After all, the large plantation with a well-organized medical régime was an exceptional institution, save in certain rich areas. On the ordinary place the master, mistress, or overseer was likely to look after all but the obviously serious cases among their people. This policy was dictated by considerations of economy if for no other reason—it was natural for an overseer to report that he sent for a doctor "only when it was indispensably necessary." Physicians were therefore less likely to be called in to see Negroes, than for whites in the same region. <sup>46</sup> Obstetrical

<sup>41</sup> Niles Register, XLV. 84.

A Phillips, Life and Labor in the Old South, pp. 186, 187.

So. Med. and Surg. Jour., N. S., IV. 767.

<sup>44</sup> Catterall, Judicial Cases, I. 373, 404, 441.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Ibid., II. 108.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Ibid., II. 460; So. Med. Rep'is., I. 336 ff. Cartwright referred to "the practice among three millions of people [negroes] that the overseers have mostly got"; So. Med. Rep'ts., II. 423.

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cases were usually handled by ignorant Negro mid-wives, and the high incidence of uterine diseases among slave women, and of tetanus among their new-born, were doubtless the results of this system.<sup>47</sup> Miscarriages were reported as relatively frequent among Negro women, as a result of overwork, or—as some planters believed—of a frequent resort to criminal abortion.<sup>48</sup> "A vast proportion of negro babies die within ten days after birth," observed the editor of an Alabama agricultural journal, who went on to estimate that their death rate was about double that of white infants in his region.<sup>49</sup>

The Negro children who survived were often suckled by hurried or overheated mothers from the fields, were more or less filthy, and were commonly infected with intestinal parasites of one sort or another. Adult slaves were subject to neglect, involving at times inadequate clothing, filth, and unhealthy diet, over-heavy burdens, etc. It is a suggestive fact that hernia was reported from widely separated regions, as being unusually common among slaves. Some of the bad conditions obtaining among Negroes, to be sure, may be ascribed to their own "laziness" or superstition, while mere ignorance was also a factor among both men and masters. Yet the net result, whatever the causes, was often an unhappy one. In a word, the a priori argument for slave health, in terms of a property interest, has only a partial validity,—men have been known to neglect even their live stock.

#### V

Enough has now been said of the shortcomings of medical work among both the blacks and whites. The picture of

among the negroes of the Gulf states, but as being very rare among the whites, So. Med. and Surg. Jour., N.S., II. 432, 433. See also E. M. Pendleton's essays, "On the Susceptibility of the Caucasion and African Races to the Different Classes of Disease," (So. Med. and Surg. Jour., Nov. 1849), and "... the Diseases of Middle Georgia" (So. Med. Rep'ts., I. 336 ff.):

Rural mortality rates were rarely kept for this period, though county records were occasionally compiled (e.g. in the county census reports of Georgia for 1860); hence the comparative rural rates for whites and negroes are not available. Urban rates were usually higher for whites, but there were exceptions to this, as in the case of Charleston after 1840. See Hoffman, op. cit., pp. 53, 54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>∞</sup> See The Arnold Letters, p. 13.

Southern practice in general would be incomplete, after the manner of modern fiction, were no mention made of the more pleasing aspects of the story. It has been noted that many Americans of this period had small regard for regular practitioners, but it should be added that many others continued to have such faith in their physicians as is rare in our own times. If this faith was at times misplaced, it should at least be recalled that there were other than scientific grounds for confidence. When the Southern physician called on his patient, the chances were that he came some distance, that he came willingly whenever he was called, and that he was welcomed upon arrival as the old friend and father-confessor of the household. In a word, he belonged to that now declining species, the "family doctor." Such men worked hard at their practice, and sometimes harder to collect their bills from such as could afford to pay them.<sup>51</sup> Richard Arnold, a successful city practitioner, wrote in 1849 that, besides about sixty-five ward patients, "the average of my private patients in the late summer and fall months is generally between thirty and forty and to get through with these . . . I am going the rounds from sunrise to nine or ten o'clock at night . . . it is frequently necessary to see a patient three or four times a day." Again he observed: "It runs me almost crazy to think that with hundreds upon hundreds due me professionally I find the greatest difficulty in raising a simple fifty dollars."52

In the absence of any well organized system of poor relief, much of the burden of charity practice fell directly on the shoulders of the physicians. It was estimated in 1861 that in one fairly prosperous Georgia county alone, the doctors gave away annually about thirty thousand dollars' worth of quinine. <sup>53</sup> While then, as now, they must have passed such

The doctor's bill was usually the last one paid. Dr. Fort's bill to Col. Carter for 1839 (noted above) totaled \$73.75. Under this figure was added later the suggestive statement: "8 years Int 8% 47.20"!

"The Arnold Letters, pp. 21, 170, 171.

<sup>&</sup>quot;The State courts were directed by law to look after such poor, and a tax levied for that purpose, but nothing was done about it—hence public opinion expected the doctors to supply free medicine as well as free service; So. Med. and Surg. Jour., N.S., XVII. 347, 348 (1861). It will be noted in this connection the differentiation between physician and pharmacist, so long established in Europe, was very imperfect in the United States of 1860. Country practitioners

expenses on in higher charges to paying patients, the fact remains that this was a poorly adjusted system that might work hardships upon an individual physician, as well as upon those who met their bills.

One of life's little ironies for the doctor, moreover, was the fact that it was often in this charitable work that he ran the greatest personal risk from contagion. This risk was very real, especially in times of epidemics, and the mortality among doctors was high. When vellow fever attacked Savannah in 1854, that city had a population of about eighteen thousand. including from twenty-five to thirty regular physicians. Within a few weeks no less than ten of the latter had succumbed to "the vellow monster."54

In view of all these circumstances, it is small wonder that some good people maintained faith in the family doctor, whatever the latter's scientific limitations. It is probably a legitimate assumption, moreover, that the development of Southern medical institutions was related as both cause and effect to some improvement in even the scientific status of Southern practitioners. Further evidence to this effect may be found in the participation by Southern men in the work of medical research and experimentation, characteristic of the more critical spirit manifested in medical science during this period. Indeed, the amount of original work achieved by Southern physicians, in view of their relative isolation, was truly remarkable. One has only to recall the place held in American medical history by such men as McDowell, Sims, Nott, Drake, and Crawford W. Long, in order to make this point clear. 88 It is not exaggerating to say that despite all the demoralizing

still performed the functions of physician, pharmacist, and even dentist, and the states required nothing in the way of standards of the druggists in the towns. On Southern pharmacy see So. Jour. of Med. and Pharmacy, I. 308 (1846), and the New Orleans Med. and Surg. Jour., II. 728 (1846). The history of entity, of veterinary medicine, and of nursing, cannot be entered into within the limits of this

See files of the Savannah Republican, Aug. 15 to Oct. 15, 1854.
 Interesting comment on the original work of Southern physicians is found in J. Marion Sims' "Normal Ovariotomy—Battey's Operation," North Carolina Med. Jour., I. 26-28 (1878). See also W. A. Lewis, "The History of Medicine in the South," Va. Med. Monthly, XLVIII. 655-660 (1922); E. Souchon, "Original Contributions of America to Medical Sciences," Trans. Amer. Surg. Asso., XXXV. 65-171 (1917), etc.

influences noted above, the Southern medical profession faced a fairly promising future at the end of the ante-bellum period.

Then in 1861 came the tragedy of civil war, and with it the diversion of medical activity to the field. The story of the Confederate medical service is still worthy of study. The end of the War saw Southern medical culture necessarily involved in the general disaster. Defeat meant poverty, and poverty meant that professional income fell, schools closed or stagnated, journals discontinued. In medicine, as in other phases of life, the South had to rebuild as best it could. Only after a generation had passed, and with the advent of a new prosperity, did there come a renaissance in Southern medicine.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> See G. H. Tichenor, "Medicine During the Reconstruction Period, 1865-1900, in the South; Terrible Lessons," etc. Western Medical Times, XLI. 339-343 (1922).

## COMMERCIAL FERTILIZERS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

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DY 1840 the opinion was commonly shared by the informed Dolanters of South Carolina that the system of agriculture in general use was proving increasingly ruinous both to the soil and to the planters. It is an arresting fact that the burden of nearly every agricultural address delivered in the State from 1840 to 1860 was soil exhaustion and remedies therefor. Except in the tidewater region, where rice was grown, the cultivation of cotton had come to be the chief concern of farmers and planters throughout the State; and in the production of this staple as well as in the production of corn, wheat, oats, potatoes, and peas, the method of tillage was, in the main, unscientific. It was characterized by failure to diversify crops, little attention to systematic rotation, shallow ploughing, and the meagre use of manures. The general result of these practices was a gradual deterioration of the soil. A writer from Abbeville, in commenting on the deplorable state of agriculture, wrote: "We think none will have the temerity to deny the destruction that has and is now going on in the middle and upper portions of our State. Tens of thousands of acres of once productive lands are now reduced to the maximum of sterility." It was generally recognized by intelligent planters and farmers in the fifties that the process of clearing new fields and cultivating them until exhausted had been carried too far. There were natural limitations on this practice, and in the judgment of many planters the time had nearly arrived when the choice lay between manuring old fields or moving West. "The period is fast approaching," wrote C. F. Haskell, Esq., in 1856, "when no more forest lands can be cut down and put into cultivation and the choice must be made between improvement and emigration."2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Southern Agriculturist, Charleston, S. C., July, 1853. <sup>3</sup> Farmer and Planter, Pendleton, S. C., April, 1857.

With the price of cotton ranging around eight cents per pound in the forties, and with an almost constant tide of emigrants surging westward, the men who from economic considerations or from pride of place remained in South Carolina to support a languishing agriculture decided that remedial measures must be supplied in order to save the State from economic stagnation and decline. Agricultural societies and periodicals urged the planters and farmers to resort to deep ploughing, crop rotation, and the growing of more clover and peas, and less cotton; and, above all, to use manures. Edmund Ruffin, of Virginia, who was employed by the State of South Carolina in 1842 to make an agricultural survey with a view of locating its rich marl beds, recommended in season and out the use of marl. Towards these suggestions the average farmer took the following attitude:

Pshaw stranger! that's all book farming; it looks mighty good on paper, but it won't work out the right answer. I tell you it won't do it. I've got a neighbor who is always at it and does nothing else, it's manure, manure, subsile, subsile, and write for the papers; all stuff, sir; his crib's always empty, stock poor and everything out of fix except fancy patches [fields] they're great, etc.§

While this statement may have represented the attitude of the average farmer, it is nevertheless true that during the forties many planters supplemented the use of home-made manures with lime and marl.

The manifestation of a pronounced interest in the use of manures as a means of improving the soil and increasing production led to a great deal of experimentation in the preparation and application of domestic manures, and eventually to a meager and cautious use of a commercial fertilizer called "guano." The first commercial fertilizer used in South Carolina, and for that matter, in the United States, was the famous Peruvian guano imported from the Chincha Islands off the coast of Peru. The original deposit was composed solely of the excrement of seafowls and possessed a high nitrogen content. It was first used extensively on the eastern

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Southern Agriculturist, May, 1853.

and western shores of the Chesapeake Bay by farmers and planters who obtained their supply from Baltimore, the original port of entry. From Maryland, the use of guano spread to Virginia and then to the Carolinas. The first published account of its use in South Carolina encountered by the writer was contributed to the Southern Agriculturist by I. Jenkins Mikell, of Edisto Island, under date of December 15, 1845. Mr. Mikell stated that in 1845 he applied 200 pounds of guano per acre on five acres of cotton with pleasing results. "I am so satisfied with its adaptedness to the cotton plant," wrote Mr. Mikell, "that I have ordered three tons to be sent to me and several of our planters who have witnessed its good effects have done so to a greater extent." Opinion regarding the merits of guano was not, however, always so sanguine. Conservative planters and agricultural societies generally regarded it as of uncertain value and not infrequently ventured the prediction that its future use would be attended by some risk. For example, a report on manures submitted to the Winyah and All-Saints Agricultural Society. April 20, 1848, contains a reference to guano, but gives the opinion that guano along with saltpetre and rice flour "will never be used in all probability farther than experiment for mere amusement." The committee in making the report suggested instead the use of such manures "as have been tried and likely to be useful on a large scale." Despite conflicting opinions as to the value of guano as a fertilizer, it continued to be tried here and there in the tidewater region and occasionally found its way to points in the interior. John W. Leak, of Cheraw, South Carolina, reported an experiment conducted with guano in 1851, and a planter from the Pendleton District wrote that he delayed the sowing of his wheat in the fall of 1853 because of the failure of a shipment of guano to arrive at the proper time.

The gradual introduction of guano into South Carolina was due to a variety of causes: namely, the difficulty of obtaining the substance, the original cost plus cost of delivery, an imperfect knowledge of its preparation and application, and its probable effect on the soil. Baltimore was from the

beginning the greatest fertilizer market in America and the chief port of entry; accordingly, from Baltimore the early supply of guano was obtained. Selling agents in Baltimore obtained shipments direct from Peru and then disposed of the product, preferably in large lots, to consumers along the South Atlantic coast. It appears that in the fall of 1853 a sub-agency in charge of Mr. William Allston Gourdin was established in Charleston for the sale of the genuine Peruvian guano. Mr. Gourdin alleged that he was the exclusive selling agent for South Carolina and adjacent states. He, however, imported guano from Baltimore for which he paid a carrying charge of nine dollars per ton. Roundabout importation, with its inconveniences and extra transportation costs, led to a demand for direct importation to Charleston. A correspondent of the Southern Agriculturist, who had used guano in small quantities and who appeared to regard it as a panacea for all agricultural ills, wished to know if the editor would assist in having the Peruvian guano delivered at Charleston for the same price it was delivered at Baltimore. "If this can be done," he wrote, "in place of worn-out and deserted fields would be seen the luxuriant growth of a promising crop, and where the log hut with the propped-up chimney and hingeless door now furnish imperfect shelter would be seen the happy circle around the blazing hearth of a new and freshly-painted cottage."4

Since guano was too expensive for purely experimental purposes on a liberal scale, numerous inquiries were made for rules covering preparation for sowing, manner of distribution, and the amount necessary to produce the maximum yields. In response to inquiries in the premises, agricultural journals freely opened their columns to communications on the subject; and it appears from a cursory view of the agricultural papers that nearly everyone who used guano was pleased to publish the results of his tests. Throughout the decade of the fifties users of guano engaged in a controversy as to the relative merits of broadcasting and drilling. At first, broadcasting appears to have been in the greatest favor. After

<sup>\*</sup>Southern Agriculturist, Aug., 1853.

183

about 1855, however, it became increasingly customary to sow guano in the drill in connection with the growing of cotton; but, when applied to wheat and oats, broadcasting continued to be the prevailing method of distribution. In the fertilization of Indian corn, guano was either broadcast at the rate of about 200 pounds per acre or deposited in small quantities beside each hill of corn at a distance which seemed to protect the growing plant from the corrosive action of the fertilizer.

In the preparation of the Peruvian guano for sowing, it was customary to cause it to be passed through a sieve for breaking up the lumps and then to mix it with some harmless and frequently inexpensive substance such as sand, ashes, and compost, or on occasion with lime or plaster. The Peruvian guano in its pristine state contained so high a percentage of available ammonia that it was deemed advisable to combine it with some other substance, not only to facilitate sowing, but in order to protect the seed from the caustic action of the chemicals. After the introduction of the phosphatic fertilizers about 1854, many planters experimented with a combination of the Peruvian guano and Mapes or Rhodes Super-Phosphate of Lime in proportions corresponding to the caprice of the planter and the supposed needs of the soil. The rather heavy percentage of available phosphoric acid in the phosphatic manures, when combined with the Peruvian guano, was believed to produce a well-balanced crop, the ammonia contributing to the growth of the plant, while the phosphoric acid superinduced the growth of the fruit. Farmers and planters were finally relieved of the supposed necessity of mixing guano with other substances for all purposes after Mr. David Dickson of Sparta, Georgia, and other progressive planters demonstrated that the free use of guano, when judiciously applied, did not result in injury to the seed or growing plants. Indeed, in 1859 Mr. Dickson strongly advised the free use of guano on cotton because, as he pointed out, the cotton plant would mature earlier, thereby shortening the plowing season by two or three weeks and making it possible for the producer to begin selling cotton in September.

"In six to nine months," wrote Mr. Dickson, "you will have the money invested in guano back with profits."

The effect of guano on the soil gave rise to much speculation and to no little misgiving. Some purchasers alleged that it actually improved the soil when used on the same field in consecutive years, while others (apparently a majority) affirmed that guano was nothing more than a stimulant and that it exhausted the soil to such an extent that once used on the same field for two or three years in succession, its use could not well be discontinued. Numerous tests were made to determine whether the same amount of commercial fertilizer applied to a given field a second and a third year would produce a greater or a lesser yield than was obtained from the initial application. M. C. M. Hammond, of Beech Island. and others made tests with various brands of commercial fertilizers to determine their efficacy in the production of certain crops, but the results were so dissimilar that no general rule was deducible.

Due to a variety of causes, the vogue enjoyed by the Peruvian guano began in the late fifties to decline. In the first place, the charge was seriously and repeatedly made that it suffered adulteration at Baltimore. The report was widely circulated that a peculiar earth taken from the southern slope of Hampstead Hill near Baltimore was being carted secretly into the city, packed in old guano bags, bearing the inspector's mark, and sold for genuine Peruvian guano. With Peruvian guano selling at sixty dollars per ton in 1860, there no doubt existed a strong temptation to adulterate; and, in the absence of a State inspector of fertilizers in South Carolina, the adulterated product may have been sold to defenseless planters. A second reason for the growing unpopularity of the Peruvian was the rather well-established assertion that it had suffered deterioration in quality. By 1870, the Chincha guano, the best of the Peruvian, was practically exhausted, and by 1880 only about 150 thousand tons of the Peruvian

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Letter of David Dickson to *The Farmer and Planter*, October, 1859.

<sup>6</sup> State inspection of commercial fertilizers was provided by law in 1872.

Statutes at Large of South Carolina, V. 15, No. 25.

were imported annually.<sup>7</sup> Peruvian guano reached its maximum importation in 1856, and from that date its decline in both quantity and quality continued until its exhaustion. Coincident with the decline of the Peruvian guano there appeared on the market various brands of the super-phosphates, manufactured for the most part in Baltimore.

Rules for using the super-phosphates on various crops were industriously circulated and their specific value in promoting the growth of crops was duly emphasized. The esteem commanded by the super-phosphates was doubtless accentuated by the endorsement of Rhodes Super-phosphate by the South Carolina Agricultural Society in 1860 and the praise accorded the same brand of commercial fertilizer by Colonel A. G. Summer, horticulturist and editor of Pomaria. Aside from these considerations, the price of the superphosphates brought them within the range of a group of purchasers who found the Peruvian to be too expensive. So widely used were the phosphatic manures that the editor of The Farmer and Planter, in December 1859, was moved to speak a word of caution. "The mania just now for the phosphatic manures," wrote the editor, "seems to be very great. Every paper is full of puffs and advertisements, agents are perambulating the country and agencies are established everywhere amongst us. It is well enough to look a little into the business."

It appears that thoughtful planters in the late fifties adhered chiefly to the nitro-phosphatic system of fertilizing. That is, they either combined Peruvian guano with superphosphate of lime or purchased phosphatic manures which had been nitrogenized. The nitro-phosphatic system retained first place until after the War for Southern Independence, when a new element, salts of potash imported from Germany, began to be combined with phosphoric acid and ammonia by both farmers<sup>8</sup> and manufacturers. This combination was

First Annual Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture of the State of South Carolina (1880).

<sup>\*</sup>Farmers frequently purchased fertilizing materials and mixed them on the farm in the belief that the home-manipulated product was better and cheaper than that manipulated by the fertilizer companies.

designed to meet more nearly the demand for a "complete manure."

While the use of commercial fertilizers did not become general before 1890, a variety of factors brought them into increasing esteem. Among these were: (1) the utilization of large deposits of phosphatic rock, found in the coastal region of South Carolina, for purposes of fertilization; (2) improved transportation facilities expediting delivery throughout the State; (3) the inability of landed proprietors to command labor and capital for clearing fresh lands; (4) the presence of a large class of tenant farmers cultivating worn-out lands.

As regards the South Carolina phosphates, they constituted at once the cheapest and most available supply of phosphatic manures in the United States. They existed in two forms, rock and marl; but of these two forms the former was the chief source of supply. The phosphatic deposits were found in the largest quantities in a region paralleling the coast at a distance of from ten to thirty miles inland between the Wando River on the north and the Broad River on the south. The deposits were said to have been discovered in 1860; but, owing to the occurrence of the War for Southern Independence, they were not mined for commercial purposes until 1868. The comparative cheapness and the proven efficacy of the South Carolina phosphates created such a demand for the marketable product that the output increased from 20,000 tons in 1868-70 to 355,000 tons in 1883. According to James L. Watkins, a result of the extensive application of the South Carolina phosphates was the bringing under cultivation of thousands of acres of worn-out lands and the extension of the cotton belt to the very base of the Blue Ridge Mountains.9

Prior to 1860, Charleston maintained railway connections with such important towns in the piedmont as Greenville, Spartanburg, Chester, Pendleton, Columbia, and Laurens; but it was not until after the War for Southern Independence that well-established railway connections obtained between

<sup>\*</sup> Watkins, J. L., King Cotton, p. 71.

points in South Carolina and northern cities. Following the construction of the Air Line Railway from Richmond to Atlanta by way of Greenville and Spartanburg in the early seventies, commercial fertilizers from Baltimore and other northern cities were shipped over a direct rail route to consumers in the upper piedmont with greater despatch and convenience. In March 1882, Alfred Taylor of Taylors, S. C., a village nine miles northeast of Greenville on the Air Line Railway (now the Southern Railway), began selling commercial fertilizers to the farmers of his community. Concerning Marlboro County, it was noted that the use of fertilizers was generally deprecated as unthrifty and extravagant; "but the facility with which they may be obtained and used makes their employment the general practice." Elsewhere a marked increase in the use of fertilizers was manifested.

The presence in South Carolina after the war of a large class of small farmers, mostly tenants, contributed greatly to the liberal use of commercial fertilizers. This class of small farmers owed their existence largely to the changed economic order resulting from the emancipation of the slaves. After the war large landowners could not afford to cultivate their barren and semi-barren acres with hired labor; neither could they afford to retain large tracts of taxable land in comparative idleness. In this connection the statement of David Golightly of Spartanburg, is of interest. On April 12, 1868, he made the following entry in his farm journal: "Our taxes and other expenses are so great and our crops so small that our land for farming purposes is getting to be more expense than profit." On August 2, 1869, he wrote: "Taxes high and little cash. With much ado I have paid my taxes \$81.57. This is enough to kill any poor man." While wages paid to ordinary field hands were fifty cents per day or from eight to ten dollars per month, few proprietors could afford to hire a large group of hands. Mr. M. C. M. Hammond of Beech Island, in writing on the use of fertilizers under the new dispensation, remarked, "We can no longer afford to

 $<sup>^{18}\,\</sup>mathrm{Diary}$  of Alfred Taylor, of Taylors, S. C., covering the period from 1858 to 1890. In private possession.

employ freedmen to clear new fields. Since they demand payment in money or in kind they are pressed to make in return the most that is possible."11 "No man," wrote the Hon. Willoughby Newton, "can suppose it possible to cultivate profitably poor land with hired labor, and under our new system fertilizers must be used to a much greater extent than formerly."12 Instead, therefore, of attempting to cultivate large estates with hired labor, landed proprietors, in the main. adhered to the system of renting tracts of arable land to freedmen and poor whites for a share of the crop or for a stipulated standing rent in money or produce. The system was by no means satisfactory, but under the circumstances it seemed to be the most workable arrangement.

The "old fields" of South Carolina would not produce substantial yields without the use of manures. Since materials for domestic manures were scarce, and since such materials as were at hand scarcely ever sufficed to cover more than a few acres, it was quite natural for farmers to turn to commercial fertilizers for supplementing stable manure and compost. The former were easily handled, immediate in their effect, and procurable in any quantity. Furthermore, tenants, and for that matter most landowners, were virtually forced to expend most of their time and effort in the growing of market crops with which to pay the time-merchant for supplies advanced over a period of from eight to ten months while the crop was being planted and brought to fruition. In order to produce crops whose market value would at least approximate the cost of supplies, including fertilizers, advanced by the time-merchant, the debtor-farmer, with a limited supply of labor, found through sad experience that he must use commercial fertilizers. Indeed, in many instances, the growing of a certain number of acres of cotton and the use of a certain quantity of commercial fertilizers was a prerequisite for obtaining credit with the local merchant.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Rural Carolinian, Charleston, S. C., Dec., 1869.
<sup>13</sup> The American Farmer, Baltimore, Sept., 1866. So acute was the labor problem that the Agricultural Society of South Carolina placed itself on record in 1869 as being in favor of encouraging white immigration from abroad. History of the State Agricultural and Mechanical Society of South Carolina, p. 26.

That commercial fertilizers played an important rôle in Southern agriculture in the post-war period will, I think, admit of little doubt. Indeed, when one considers the exhausted state of the soil and the limited facilities for improving it, one is almost at a loss to account for the revival of agriculture without the extensive use of fertilizers.

Some of the most patent results of the use of commercial fertilizers may now be noted. In the first place, farmers gradually abandoned the cultivation of alluvial lands which required ditching for drainage. On the one hand, labor for ditching proved to be expensive, and on the other hand fertilizers rendered the uplands productive. A second result of the use of fertilizers was indicated in the trucking industry on the coast. There was a certain pecuniary advantage to be derived from the early and rapid growth of vegetables for market, and it appears that no manure was more instant in promoting rapid growth than the commercial fertilizers. Besides, vegetables require large quantities of manure, a need most conveniently met by the availability of commercial fertilizers at any time and in any quantity. In the last place, commercial fertilizers helped to make possible intensive farming. The introduction of the system of renting land to tenantfarmers did not result in the adoption of scientific methods of farming. On the contrary, for a great many years, farmers continued to cultivate as many acres as their labor force was capable of working indifferently, manuring a portion of the crop and leaving a portion unmanured. Gradually, however, the more progressive farmers, forced by the scarcity and expense of labor, and convinced that extensive tillage was per se unprofitable, resorted to intensive culture (that is, planting fewer acres and manuring every acre used). While the growing of clover, cow peas, and soy beans for improving the soil was practiced increasingly, the majority of farmers found that without capital for purchasing all needed supplies, they must devote the greater portion of their arable land to the growing of the staples. Accordingly, commercial fertilizers, and not nitrogenous crops, had to be the main reliance in increasing yields on smaller units of production.

## THE CONFEDERATE DISTRICT COURTS IN ADMIRALTY

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WILLIAM M. ROBINSON, IR. Augusta, Ga.

THE REPORTS of Confederate States District Courts were never published; and at this day, he who would learn of a case decided in these courts of the short-lived Confederate States of America must read countless old newspapers and rummage in garrets. Those cases possessing public interest were generally reported in fair detail in the current newspapers, but oftentimes the news reporter took only the sensational features, and it is mostly in vain that one searches for a materially deferred decision. What has become of the court records? Very little is known. The fate of

captured property is precarious.

In the Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, there are the trial docket and the court costs book for the District of Alabama and the minutes of the court in Mississippi. In the record rooms of the United States District Court at New Orleans, the court costs of the Confederate cases may be found in a book sandwiched between the records of the United States District Court which adjourned just before the secession of Louisiana and of the United States Provisional Court for the State of Louisiana which met in January, 1863, following the occupation of New Orleans. A most interesting find was made in Savannah, where the writer discovered in the dusty garret of the United States Court and Post Office Building a voluminous record of the sequestration cases tried in the "District Court of the Confederate States of America for the Southern District of Georgia," and the invaluable Admiralty Book of that court.1

On the sixth day of the sitting of the Provisional Congress at Montgomery, Alabama, and on the day following the

No records of the South Carolina District could be found in Charleston; but the writer has not had opportunity to make local searches for the less important districts.

adoption of the Provisional Constitution, the deputies enacted that the laws of the United States in force on November 1, 1860, and not inconsistent with the newly adopted Constitution, be continued in force until repealed or altered by Congress. Under this provision and "An Act to establish the judicial courts of the Confederate States of America," approved March 16, 1861, and the several acts amendatory thereto, the Confederate Districts Courts continued the cases remaining on the dockets of the old United States courts. In several of the courts, the cases were even continued under the style of the United vs. ----. The court for Louisiana opened in May, continuing the old docket designations until November. The court for Mississippi dropped the old numbering but did not replace the "U. S." by the "C. S." until January, 1862. In quite a number of instances there was no change on the bench. It is said that with but two exceptions, the judges who followed their states were reappointed by President Davis.

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In addition to the trial of the ordinary civil and criminal causes normal to peacetime, the time of the district courts was much taken up by causes of war origin; such as trading with the enemy, treason (particularly this in Tennessee), admiralty, and sequestration. For treason I have found no death penalties inflicted, the disloyal persons generally receiving the absolution of the Court upon taking the oath of allegiance to the Confederate States. Not so with counterfeiters, however, for at least one forger of Treasury notes was hanged in Richmond under the law of August 19, 1861 (Prov. Cong., Sess. II, Ch. 23), which prescribed the death penalty for counterfeiters, their accomplices, and those who knowingly passed imitations of the currency. Curiously, imprisonment at hard labor from five to ten years and a fine not exceeding five thousand dollars was deemed sufficient punishment for a forger of Government bonds or coupons. In all the courts the bulk of war business was in the matter of garnishments under the Sequestration Act. Interesting sidelights on these cases may be found in "The Sequestration Cases before the Hon. A. B. Magrath "(South Carolina) and in another Confederate imprint on the cases before the court for Alabama (copies of both pamphlets being found in the Library of Congress), and in an article on "The Confederate States Court for Georgia," by Warren Grice, which appeared in the Georgia Historical Quarterly, June, 1925. But it is upon the prize cases that some new light may be thrown.

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The first admiralty case to come before a Confederate court, was that of Confederate States of America versus Ship A. B. Thompson. It was decided in the District Court for South Carolina, Judge Magrath presiding. The claimants alleged that a state of public war did not exist. It seems scarcely credible that anyone could doubt what would be the ruling of the South Carolinian. The main contention in the case developed on the question of a division of the spoils; the dispute being as to whether certain soldiers who were on board of the capturing ship-of-war, the C. S. S. Lady Davis, were guests or marines. The Court held that they had the status of the latter and that, therefore, they were entitled to share in the division of the prize-money as provided by lawwhich, since the Confederacy had enacted no special law on the distribution of prize-money, referred to the United States Statutes of 1800, chapter 33.

This case may be taken as illustrative of Confederate prize making. The Lady Davis, a small, armed steamer, 250 tons, was transferred to the Confederate States Navy early in May. On the 19th she put out for a cruise in search of the United States Brig-of-War Perry. The commanding officer, Lieutenant Thomas P. Pelot, alone holding a Confederate commission, the other officers and the crew were still under Carolinian commission or enrollment. Pelot had requested Captain Stephen Elliott, junior of the Beaufort Volunteer Artillery, to accompany him as a pilot; and the latter had requested, and been given, permission to bring along some dozen men of his command. The armament of the Confederate gunboat included a rifled cannon, which far outranged the guns of the Union vessel; and it was the intention of Lieutenant Pelot to

destroy the enemy with fire from this piece, without coming within shot of the vastly heavier broadsides of the brig. However, the Lady Davis was only about eight miles beyond the Port Royal bar when she saw a fine ship making sail in the offing and standing to the northwards. Steaming within hailing distance, the gunboat ordered the ship to show her colors and heave to. Pelot then sent his second in command. Lieutenant E. C. Stockton, on board to examine her. found that she was the ship A. B. Thompson, 980 tons, in ballast, 53 days from Antwerp, having called at Savannah for orders, now bound for New York, and owned in Maine. Upon reporting these facts to the Confederate captain, Stockton was ordered to make her a prize. He returned to the ship with a mixed prize crew of seamen and soldiers, including Captain Elliott as pilot. The merchantman's officers were sent to the Lady Davis, and her crew set to working the ship. The captured and captors then stood into Beaufort in company.

Arriving in Beaufort the prize-crew was relieved by a guard detailed from the garrison at Fort Littleton. Lieutenant Pelot filed a libel in the District Court at Charleston. A monition was duly issued and a copy nailed to the main mast of the prize. The prize commissioner, R. C. Gilchrist, took testimony upon the standing interrogatories, and submitted the "examination in preparatorio of officers and crew of prize ship A. B. Thompson, taken by the C. S. S. Lady Davis," to the presiding judge, the Honorable A. G. Magrath. For the purpose of securing the ship he had all the sails unbent and stowed away in the hold, the running tackle taken down, and the vessel completely dismantled. The flag room was sealed, but the original crew was allowed to live on board and to continue to subsist on the ship's stores. Captain Elliott intervened in behalf of himself and his detachment of two sergeants and sixteen men, as joint captors. When the Court condemned the ship as lawful prize, the soldiers were decreed to be joint captors and entitled to share in the prize-money as marines according to their respective ranks. The district marshal sold the prize, and the district clerk deposited the proceeds, \$14,350.41, with the Assistant Treasurer of the Confederate States in Charleston, B. C. Pressley. The latter reported the deposit to the Secretary of the Treasury, C. G. Memminger, in Richmond, November 6, 1861, closing the case.

After the Court had decreed Captain Elliott and his detachment to be joint captors and entitled to share in the prize-money as marines, for some reason—which is not at all apparent—the Honorable James Chestnut, junior, a Deputy from South Carolina, put through the Provisional Congress an act (introduced 30 July and approved 1 August, 1861) to confirm the decision.

For at New Orleans enemy-owned vessels were seized and libeled, both those that continued in port after the expiration of the thirty days of grace allowed them in which to depart and those that came into port in ignorance of the state of war recognized by the Act of May 6, 1861. *McLelland et al.* vs. ship John H. Jarvis was the test case of the latter group, and was submitted to the District Court for Louisiana on June 21, 1861.

Thomas J. Semmes, proctor for the captors, S. C. Mc-Lelland et al, of the privateer Music, admitted that, the prize having been made in the Mississippi River and not upon the high seas, the original libellants had no claim to the ship under the Act of Congress declaring war; and confined his argument entirely in aid of the claim to confiscation on the part of the Confederate States Government, which had intervened. Mr. Semmes contended that instantly upon a declaration of war, the property of the enemy becomes liable to seizure and condemnation. This liability to confiscation adheres to the ship and cargo, enduring not only until the arrival in port, but "up to the moment the Government chooses to make a seizure." When the government effects the seizure, "the court must proceed to pass sentence of condemnation and forfeiture, not by reason of any act of Congress or instruction from the Executive, but by virtue of those general powers flowing from the general rules of the law of war and governing all prizecourts." He quoted, in support of the powers, jure belli, of the court, from the doctrinal part of Judge Vanness' opinion in the case of Johnson for privateer *Tickler vs. Bales* and cases on ship *Mary and Susan*, and from the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Caledonian case, 4th Wheaton, page 102. In the latter, Judge Story said: "But the right of the government to the forfeiture is not founded on the capture; it arises from its general authority to seize all enemies' property coming into our ports during war.' Mr. Semmes declared, as was held in the *Caledonian* case, that no legislative mandate to the Court, other than the constitutional investment of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction, was necessary, and that as a prize-court it was vested with full powers to condemn and confiscate under the general laws of war.

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P. E. Bonford, replying for the claimants, contended that the question before the court was not one of capture, thus pertaining to the law of nations, but of Confederate law. In Congress alone is vested the power to "make rules concerning captures on land and water," and in the Act of May 6, 1861, there was not to be found the slightest intimation of an intention to regulate or authorize the capture in such case as this. The Act expressly exempted the vessels then in port and referred expressly to, and intended to regulate, captures on the high seas. It had not been pretended that any other enactment applied to the case; and, in the absence, there was no power residing in the Court to condemn and confiscate. In support of his position he quoted Judge Marshall in the case of Brown vs. United States (8 Cranch 110).

Mr. Bonford undertook to prove that under European law, citing Hautefeuille, there is no difference in the situation of a vessel in port at the breaking out of war and of one coming into port afterwards in ignorance of the fact. On the other hand, he also sought to show that the decisions of the English admiralty judges were inapplicable to the solution of American questions on account of the entire dissimilarity in the forms of governments of the two countries, quoting the opinion of Judge Taney in Fleming vs. Page (9 Howard, 618). He also showed that Judge Vanness' opinion in the case of the privateer Tickler, previously referred to by Mr. Semmes, was

probably decided before Brown vs. United States, and was inconsistent with it; the one court quoting Vattel to affirm, and the other to refute, a particular doctrine.

"Then your argument destroys all powers of this Court, jure belli," queried Judge Moïse. To which Mr. Bonford

assented.

The District Attorney, Henry C. Miller, next spoke at some length, undertaking to distinguish between the present case and that of *Brown vs. United States*.

The Court delivered its opinion orally; and rendered a decision, July 24, 1861, in favor of the intervening libellants, the Confederate States of America.

At the same time decrees were entered against the ships Toulon, State of Maine, Lemuel Dyer, Ariel, C. A. Farwell, and American Union, the bark Chester and the schooner E. S. Janes. These vessels, having arrived in the Mississippi River subsequent to May 6, had been seized and libelled under the

authority of the District Attorney.

The District Court for South Carolina, in August, 1861, in the case of the privateer Music vs. the bark Rowena denied the petition of several neutral passengers to be reimbursed the expense that they had been put to by reason of the capture of the vessel upon which they had taken passage, and to be allowed such additional amount as would enable them to reach their point of destination, Philadelphia. In connection with this case the court held that certain colored seamen taken on board of the Rowena ought not to be prosecuted under the state law of 1835 forbidding the introduction of free Negroes, in that they were brought into the state without their consent; but should be deported in conformity with the instructions of the Department of Justice, dated Richmond, July 12, 1861, "to marshals in relation to prisoners of war and persons captured at sea." These regulations provided that all alien enemies taken on unarmed vessels not in the public service should be deported at the expense of the Confederate States Government.

In the case of L. M. Coxetter, master, and the owners and crew of the Jefferson Davis vs. the brig John Welch,

Judge Magrath, of the court in South Carolina, leaning upon English jurisprudence, held that the mere bill of lading was not sufficient proof of neutral ownership "to rebut the presumption resulting from its being on board the vessel of an enemy that the cargo is also the property of an enemy."

The salvage case of the steamer Denbigh, heard in the District Court for Alabama, March, 1864, Judge William G. Jones, presiding, is interesting. This famous blockade-runner. under British colors, cleared from Mobile for Havana, January 31, 1864; and in going to sea by the Swash Channel grounded. She had on board 500 bales of cotton delivered to and received by the Paris house of Erlanger et Cie., agents for the bondholders of the European Loan which the Confederacy had made the previous year. The blockaders stood in to cut her out, and the master requested the assistance of the Confederate garrisons guarding the entrance to the bay. The latter dispatched a battery of howitzers along the beach to an effective position; and under the protection of the combined barrages of the forts and the battery, other soldiers salvaged the cargo. The blockaders were eventually driven off and the steamer herself was saved (continuing to run the blockade with, it is said, the regularity of a peacetime packet until the end of the war in May 1865). The salvors filed a libel, asking for a reward in sum of \$300,000, alleging that the steamer was worth \$800,000 and the cargo \$125,000. The owners resisted the payment of salvage, contending that the salvors were in the Government service and were therefore not entitled to other remuneration. The Court held, however, that it was true that the soldiers were entitled to nothing for the military defense which had been made; but allowed that, being under no obligation to rescue foreign-owned property. they were entitled to compensation for the fatigue of unloading the cargo, and awarded them \$25,000, being 250 mandays at \$100 each.

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One frequently hears it alleged that the Confederacy established no judiciary, and again that the Confederate courts

existed only on paper. The writer was amazed to read in a recent text by a well-known historian that though the Confederate district courts existed, little use was made of them. As a matter of fact, these courts were kept quite busy, for, from all the evidence at hand, the average yearly dockets contained about three hundred cases. For example, the District Court for Louisiana from the time of the first sitting. June 5, 1861, to the end of the last session before the fall of New Orleans, March 10, 1862, entertained 297 cases. Thirty-one of these were admiralty cases; eleven being of privateer origin, nine naval seizures, ten seizures as property of alien enemies, and one a purely civil cause. During the first two years of the Court in Alabama, that is, at the conclusion of the spring term of 1863, the cases had reached a total of 593. It is believed that admiralty cases were decided in all the seaboard district courts.

Under the Provisional Constitution of the Confederate States, ordained February 8, 1861, each State was constituted "a District, in which there shall be a court called a District Court, which, until otherwise provided by the Congress, shall have the jurisdiction vested by the laws of the United States, as far as applicable, in both the District and Circuit Courts of the United States"; and "the Supreme Court shall be constituted of all the District Judges, a majority of whom shall be a quorum, and shall sit at such times and places as the Congress shall appoint." A special "court of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction at Key West, State of Florida," was authorized by an act of March 11, 1861, with the northern territorial limit fixed as "a line drawn east and west from the northern point of Charlotte Harbor," being approximately the 27° parallel of latitude. This court was never organized. But four days later the act establishing the national judiciary vested the District Courts with original admiralty and maritime jurisdiction, and allowed appeal to the Supreme Court in all cases where the matter in dispute exceeded five hundred dollars. The time of holding the district courts was discretional with the judges, but the sessions of the Supreme Court were prescribed as annual, beginning on the first Monday in January 1862. However, an amendment of July 31, 1861, provided that the latter court should not sit until organized under the Permanent Constitution.

In his first message to the Congress after the establishment of the Permanent Constitution, President Davis, February 25, 1862, invited "the attention of Congress to the duty of organizing a supreme court for the Confederate States, in accordance with the mandate of the Constitution." Towards the close of the session a bill to organize the court was introduced in the House of Representatives, but failed to get out of the hands of the Committee on the Judiciary. The same thing happened in the next, or Second, session. In the Senate, similar bills were frequently considered on the floor; and, after a series of postponements, a bill was finally sent, in the Third Session, to the House for its concurrence. There it was referred to the Judiciary committee, which recommended that it pass with an amendment; but its enemies secured the postponement of its consideration throughout this and the Fourth Session. With the coming of the Second Congress, the proponents of the Supreme Court introduced a new bill in the House, which dallied over it through the two sessions. and left it on the table at the adjournment on March 18, 1865.

In the meantime the district courts had been promptly organized. Incidentally, it is interesting to relate that the courts for the Districts of Cha-lah-ki and of Tush-ca-hom-ma. established in the Indian Territories by act of February 15. 1862, were vested with admiralty and maritime jurisdiction. Curiously, many years later when this very inland Indian Country was admitted to the Union of the United States as the State of Oklahoma, its Legislature inadvertently incorporated in its code a mass of maritime law when it adopted for itself the laws, in toto, of a certain seaboard state. However, when the Confederates organized the Territory of Arizona, by act of January 18, 1862, they did not confer admiralty and maritime jurisdiction on the courts of that arid territory.

# APRIL WEATHER: THE POETRY OF LIZETTE WOODWORTH REESE

R. P. HARRISS Baltimore

**B**ACK IN 1887, a Baltimore bookseller published a small volume containing thirty-six poems, called A Branch of May and prefaced by these whimsical lines:

Another rhymer? quoth the World. Faith, these folk be mad!

It was the work of a certain Lizette Woodworth Reese, a young teacher in the Baltimore city schools, who had assured the sale of her very limited edition by procuring advance subscriptions from among her friends. Because of its keen, incisive diction and direct, sometimes epigrammatic manner, it must have been eved askance by such critics as happened to notice the little sheaf. The majority of readers, whose ears were attuned to the sugary lilts o' love by the so-called "female poets" of the day, scarcely understood it; certainly few there were to remark its significance. Yet while none dreamed that this new poet (poetess, they doubtless called her then) was the harbinger of a newer and finer era, the book did gain a small but definite group of admirers, her audience being increased when a Northern publisher brought out a slightly larger edition and created an interest which was less restricted and parochial. The clear, natural lyrics and lyrical sonnets, while embodying the English tradition, rang a fresh note. The discriminating few caught it up.

The period in which the Maryland poet began writing may well be regarded as a dry and dusty one. Emily Ball Dickinson, who died the year before the publication of A Branch of May, had been writing in the years preceding, years which were not sterile. But very little of the work of that woman who was later to become known as the American Blake, had then appeared in the magazines, and none in book form. Miss Reese was not familiar with Emily Dickinson's

poetry until long after the Amherst recluse's death. Taking further stock of the times, we find that Paul Hamilton Hayne and Sidney Lanier, good and tedious Mr. Longfellow, the impeccable Mr. Lowell, Whittier, and the thunderer Walt Whitman (since canonized) were still alive and writing poetry when Miss Reese was a girl. Lanier was lit by the sun, during his brief and tragic life; but the American public, when it read poetry, looked to Tennyson. The gusto of Whitman was to be re-discovered.

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So individual was her art, it defied classification. She seems to have been affected by none of these, when comparisons are made today. Her first poetry, written when she was fourteen, was not done in imitation of any she had ever read, and she was still oblivious to the practising poets of that day when, three years later, she again turned to the writing of verse.

The years following the publication of A Branch of May, and the period between 1890 and 1910, saw appallingly little interest in poetry. American versifiers who were functioning then, with a few exceptions (notable among them being Edwin Arlington Robinson) were content to write bookish imitations, academic translations from the classics, "songs smooth as butter and dry as chalk." Their diction was as hackneyed and mushy as their conceits. 'Tis, 'twere, e'en, and prithee, and all the other poetic gimcracks, from which all freshness had long been wrung, were regularly employed. Nobody appeared either willing or able to re-create his own age. Few were concerned with anything more serious than vers de societé. Writing in 1900, the anthologist Edmund Stedman made the following mild comment upon the state of poetry:

The rhythm of verse is less essayed than that of prose—now the vehicle of our most favored craftsmen. Already books are being written to show how an evolution of the novel has succeeded to that of the poem, which is true—and in what wise prose fiction is the higher form of literature, which is not yet proved. The novelist has outsped the poet in absorbing the new ideality conditioned by the advance of science. . . . Meanwhile, what do we have? There continues an exercise of the poet's

art by many whose trick of song persists under all conditions. We have a twilight interval, with minor voices and their tentative modes and notes.

Ten years later, Margurite Wilkinson, looking back at the time Stedman wrote the above-quoted (and, time has demonstrated, rather acute) observation, noted that "ten years ago in this country, the waters were still. Many educated persons supposed that poetry had died a natural death. . . . In spite of the fact that our intellectual leaders allowed themselves to feel a restrained enthusiasm for the work of William Vaughn Moody, Bliss Carman, Richard LeGallienne, and a few others, most people were not greatly interested in poetry. Indigent and neglected persons who lived on the top of the top story still wrote it. A few old-fashioned people of blessed memory kept scrap-books, although somewhat ashamed of the laudable habit. But no influential organizations or specialized magazines had done much for poetry as an art. Publishers said that poetry could not be sold. We were told that the age of poetry had gone never to return and that, in so far as this country was concerned, poetry would always be a dead art."

One poet, John Charles McNeill, a minor voice even for that time, was moved to write in the *Century Magasine* what he called "Protest," a poem which voiced the feeling current in his day, that rugged voices were no longer to command

great audiences. He wished, admittedly,

To shock a world of modulated voices And mediocre men.

## Instead, he protested:

Oh, I am weary, weary, weary
Of Pan and oaten quills
And little songs that from the dictionary,
Learn lore of streams and hills,
Of studied laughter mocking what is merry,
And calculated thrills!

Are we grown old and past the time of singing?

Is ardor quenched in art

Till art is but a formal figure, bringing A money-measured heart, Procrustean-cut?

Yet, for all this, it must not be forgotten that between the years 1890 and 1900, Edwin Arlington Robinson wrote his "John Evereldown," "Luke Havergal," "Richard Corey." And in 1899 there appeared in *Scribner's Magasine* a sonnet which is now one of the best-known of any living writer, a sonnet not surpassed by an American, and certainly the finest of the many fine sonnets which Lizette Reese has made, her "Tears"—

When I consider life and its few years—
A wisp of fog betwixt us and the sun;
A call to battle and the battle done
Ere the last echo dies within our ears;
A rose choked in the grass; an hour of fears;
The gusts that past a darkening shore do beat;
The burst of music down an unlistening street—
I wonder at the idleness of tears.
Ye old, old dead, and ye of yesternight,
Chieftains and bards and keepers of the sheep,
By every cup of sorrow that you had,
Loose me from tears, and make me see aright
How each hath back what once he stayed to weep;
Homer his sight, David his little lad!

Yes, unsatisfactory and even dull as they may have been, the closing years of the last century and the early years of the present were by no means without promise, though few there were to remark it. Editorially, almost all the magazines were pessimistic. Only the shrewdest critics and new poets appeared to have guessed that there was to be such a flowering as began in 1913, though among these latter, it may be noted in passing, was an obscure young Englishman then living in Yonkers: John Masefield, a bartender.

The name of Lizette Reese stands at the top of the list of those whose "trick of song" was to persist. For, three years after the appearance of A Branch of May (which had already gone into several printings), came A Handful of Lavender; and in 1896, A Quiet Road. In 1909, when A Wayside Lute

appeared, it was certainly evident that here, at least, was one significant voice. It was no precise, mincing Victorian spirit which created "Spring Ecstasy," the poetic forebear of some of Edna St. Vincent Millay's best-known nature poems:

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Oh, let me run and hide, Let me run straight to God; The weather is so mad with white From sky down to the clod!

If but one thing were so,
Lilac, or thorn out there,
It would not be, indeed,
So hard to bear.

The weather has gone mad with white; The cloud, the highway touch; White lilac is enough; White thorn too much!

An immediate offspring of this fine lyric, which is as fresh as Houseman's memorable "Loveliest of trees, the cherry now," is Edna Millay's poem, "God's World,"—a few lines from which will immediately establish the kinship:

Long have I known a glory in it all,
But never knew I this;
Here such a passion is
As stretcheth me apart. Lord, I do fear
Thou'st made the world too beautiful this year.

How much of the Lizette Reese of A Branch of May is in that little poem! How much, indeed, of many of our exquisite singers who followed it. There is Arthur Davison Ficke—to note but one. We can easily believe he had her "Spring Ecstasy" in the back of his mind—no matter how madly the wild loveliness of the hour was crying in his heart—when he wrote the sonnet that begins,

Come forth: for Spring is singing in the boughs Of every white and tremulous apple-tree.

After the appearance of A Wayside Lute, in 1909, a ten year period of silence came over her. During that time she

wrote little, publishing only a few poems. Why was the music stilled?—The poet offers no explanation other than that the mood forsook her. "I did not feel like it," she once told me, simply, when pressed for reasons. And she added:

"But I held on-I knew it would come back!"

While she was silent, meanwhile, interest in poetry had begun to show signs of a national revival. The New Poetry—far from "new" to her—was being widely written, read, talked about. Women poets were writing with frankness and strength not known before. One of them, Edna St. Vincent Millay, was (and, of course, still is) in the forefront of popularity. Did anyone guess how much they all owed to the quiet yet insistent notes of the woman singer who was first heard in 1887?

Nor was she content to keep her silence. The singing urge returned, as she had believed it would, and in 1920 and 1926 there came Spicewood and Wild Cherry, volumes with all the vitality of those early poems and an even fresher lyrical procession. The school-teacher poet had retained the light, buoyant touch of the rhymer who kept her heart "up to the bloomy time" (as she once wrote of Rob Herrick), and to this quality was added the wisdom which comes with the years to a keen and alert mind. The publication in 1926 of her Selected Poems, a sizable volume of 187 pages, was an event of first importance in American poetry. The appearance of Little Henrietta (1927), a narrative poem filling her only volume of unrhymed verse, again demonstrates the remarkably quick and sensitive spirit, as well as the master craftsmanship, of a poet whose reaction to the life about her grows keener with the advancing years. She has influenced American lyric poetry as no other woman has done; far more than Emily Ball Dickinson, whose genius remained hidden from the public until comparatively recent years. Even Anna Hempstead Branch, excellent poet that she is at times, has not attained a lyric melody of sustained beauty equal to that of the Maryland poet, nor has her poetry sufficient warmth and color to exert a wide, definite, and noticeable influence upon our moderns. Even Edna Millay, who along with Sara Teasdale, may be considered outstanding among the prominent contemporary women lyrists who are deeply indebted to Miss Reese, has yet to surpass her in technical skill and in the realm of pure lyricism. To the sonnet, especially, she has brought the singer's mood and a simplicity of diction which makes that great vehicle of thought and emotion suitable to everyday human themes, and to those subtle nuances which can never be properly treated in the grand manner.

Her fellow-townsman, Mr. H. L. Mencken, usually chary in his praise of poets and what he would term their mellifluous twaddle (though he himself once essayed certain "Ventures," long darkly suppressed by their author), has said of her: "Here is a woman who has written some of the greatest sonnets in the English language, who has given us half a dozen songs of the very first rank, whose whole work is full of an individual and ineffable beauty." It is an enthusiastic tribute, although well within the bounds of sound appraisal. Among his many pronouncements, it is one that time will surely support.

Born to the pastoral charm of the Maryland countryside. the terrain of which is so like rural England as to cause a few unknowing critics to question her descriptions, she sings of thorn trees, and the flowering cornel, and country herbs, and creaking carts along the Old York Road—a homely track that. between its flower borders, might run "to Rome, to Camelot." Her native landscapes are presented somewhat as DuBose Heyward has presented his Carolina Low Country, but the kempt charm of her hills often is detailed with a magic not equaled by the Charleston poet. Her locale is, in its way, quite as unusual and distinctive as his. And she has a "smacking word" for this or that, for every cherry tree in Tinges Lane, for every daffodil that blows in Huntingdon. One senses her kinship with the good brown earth-and with the sky-in her loving and Masefieldian use of place-names and folk-names. The poet's love for familiar things, things

> Hearty, yet dim Like country voices in a hymn,

is vividly expressed in her sonnet "Spicewood" and is definitely catalogued in a slightly longer poem called "In Praise of Common Things," the opening stanza of which runs thus: a sheltered or secluded life. Of her reactions to emotions not

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For stock and stone;
For grass, and pool; for quince tree blown
A virginal white in Spring;
And for the wall beside,
Gray, gentle, wide;
For roof, loaf, everything,
I praise Thee, Lord;
For toil, and ache, and strife,
And all the commonness of life.

Time has dealt kindly with her, though hers has not been born of such inanimate objects as stock and stone, we can learn much from her more personal poems. She has written some of the finest of love poems, poems which beneath their seeming quietude have a startling and passionate undercurrent. Her memoirs, A Victorian Village but lately published, describe her childhood, old neighbors, the character of her parents, the town of Waverly. The book is subdued and quiet and definitely in the cambric tea tradition, though written (as is all of Miss Reese's prose), with a marvelously deft touch and a fine feeling for the mot juste. The poet has kept back much, preferring to let the deeper emotions of her life be read from the only proper autobiography—the body of her poetry.

The later poems, written since 1920, have found their way into anthologies wherever the English tongue is read and spoken. Yet the songs and sonnets in those early volumes, especially the ones in that first slim book, are of prime interest, since A Branch of May not only contains some of the freshest lyric poetry ever written in America, but also because the little collection was like the first bird, to announce the coming of a singing Spring blither and clearer than any that had come before in this country. That it arrived unheralded and without an explanation, far in advance of the rest of the flight, is only a part of the phenomenon that is Lizette Reese.

#### **BOOK REVIEWS**

Collected Poems of Edwin Arlington Robinson. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929. 1018 pp.

That calm summer night when, for an apparent reason and after only fifteen lines, Richard Corey "Went home and put a bullet through his head," has passed into history. There are no more such calm and melodramatic nights, no more such short summer nights. We were young then and Richard Corey could do as he pleased without offering his closely-analyzed reasons. But now it is all very different. The nights last indefinitely, while we valorously defy time and for one least little act—to say nothing of suicide—we spin out interminable explanations, weaving arabesques of language about them, . . . while the seven days' old moon stands still above the moaning Cornish seacoast and old King Mark, having already sent two unsuccessful messengers, waits a little impatiently for Tristram and Isolt of the black hair to remember and discuss and kiss and so on for sixteen pages or well over five hundred lines. There is a moonlit poetry in the whole scene, and a kind of intensity, and the conclusion is dramatic enough; but the weakness of the method is plain. Moreover, it is altogether astonishing that the same pale beauty with occasional dramatic moments, the same tortured agonizing long-breathed explanations, in a blank verse which always inclines to prose and in spite of frequent strong lines continually suggests weakness, can be maintained for a hundred and thirty-four pages and not become altogether dull. The childlike simplicity contrasting with a sophisticated analyzing skill, the air of dream contrasting with the tragic circumstances charms us, so that we read on and on to the end. It is a tribute to Mr. Robinson's power. But the end of all, the final impression, is like the beginning in which gentle old King Howel and his child Isolt of the White Hands talk vaguely of an agate and of disillusion. It is all charming, but a little pale; it is beautiful in its way, but with something too much of lavender and old rose.

Merlin was done over ten years ago, Lancelot nearly ten, and both were in the earlier Collected Poems. So we begin now with Tristram, and observe that Mr. Arlington has not faltered in his chosen path, if he has not gained strength meanwhile.

Coming from *Tristram* to *Roman Bartholow* we come from moonlight to the twilight of a tangled forest. The setting is apparently modern but the figures are as far away as old Tintagel.

Two men and a woman talk, with astonishing fluency—in speeches which run to eighty and a hundred lines—until one goes away, another commits suicide, and the third goes away. Only the grotesque scholar-fisherman, who plays Chorus to the tragedy, remains; for the action is as who should say psychological. The blank verse moves to a quicker tempo than in *Tristram* and is less Fletcherian; and though the sentences are as league-long rollers that never break, they read easily—a splendid testimony of technical proficiency.

In Cavender's House, six years later, the picture is repeated with still finer lines, and in the earlier portion the design is so dim or so subtilized, like the "latest manner" of Henry James, that only the elect or the faithful can follow. The subject is a sequel or pendant to Roman Bartholow with a few changes in detail: the situation being made a little more obvious by having Cavender (that is, Bartholow) the actual rather than the indirect murderer of his wife, and by substituting a doubtful infidelity for the other man (Penn-Raven). Here the woman is allowed to put her own case more fully and obversely to show up her husband's pride, jealousy, and failure to understand, along with her failure to make him understand. This simplification, only evident towards the close, has not induced any of that "humane brevity" which we vainly desiderate; there is the same fluency which to a profane reader hints at garrulity. But it has mercifully shortened the poem; and a severe art might, I fancy, still further shorten it by beginning about midway and stopping two pages from the end.

The Man Who Died Twice is negligible, in spite of a lively passage or two, being unsuited in subject to Mr. Arlington's method; and the Dionysus volume may be regarded as an interlude, though some of the sonnets are of interest as reflecting the Bartholow-Cavender complex.

It may be a matter of taste to say that one prefers some of the earlier pieces, or The Three Taverns (1920) for example. What needs to be noted now, however, is that Mr. Arlington has developed a manner, latent in some of the earlier work, which has become more and more pronounced; and further an attempt should be made to characterize this manner. It seems to me to consist of a very fluent revelation, in very easy blank verse, of the mental states of persons verging on the "abnormal." These persons have all been attacked by the slow disease of self-analysis. They are detached at the same time that they are passionate; and this means that they are not healthy. They are so articulate and explain themselves so well that we suspect them of being only explanations. In a sense they are all "little Hamlets"; action is not in their way-if it were they might interest us as tragic figures-and all they seek is clarification by means of talk. They talk well and we listen patiently. And are they not models of patience in listening to each other? But in the end we want the windows thrown open for a breath of sharp cool air. A trip to the mountains would do them all good, or failing that they might be turned over to a psychiatrist rather than to a poet. Possibly a little rhetoric would do them good. though to Mr. Arlington, no doubt, the thought would be blasphemous: for he has seen fit to watch them agonize in a minor key and in subdued tones. And with this, I suppose, we may leave the matter; though we recall somewhat regretfully the vividly mysterious man Flammonde or the unregenerate King Cole or even the discursive evenings at "The Chrysalis," where perhaps the evil began. PAULL F. BAUM.

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Adventurous America. A Study of Contemporary Life and Thought. By Edwin Mims. 298 pp. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929. 298 pp.

The title Adventurous America suggests that, prosaic and commercial as the present age may be, it still contains elements of romance and adventure in the realm of thought. Instead of condemning the social unrest and the so-called revolt of youth of to-day as symptoms of decadence, Professor Mims sees in them evidences of a new energy and enthusiasm seeking outlet and expression and needing adequate guidance. The book, then, is an attempt to interpret and evaluate the modern temper as it is revealed in social life, in business, philosophy, science, and religion.

In his Personal Foreword he briefly tells how by foreign travel and study, by contact with his own children,—exponents of the modern spirit,-by sympathetic reading of contemporary literature and by a careful examination of the various critical and creative interpretations of the present time, he has sought earnestly to "know the signs of the times and to catch the very form and pressure of the age." He now feels that it is time to "make a synthesis of the new knowledge and the old faith," and sets himself with enthusiasm to the task of considering "somewhat in detail the application of the spirit of adventure to some of the problems of America."

First he traces this adventurous spirit through business, in which, citing the examples of such men as Owen D. Young, Julius Rosenwald, George Eastman, Otto Kahn, and many others, he sees clear evidence of "a greater sense of responsibility, a desire for social fair play and justice, and a marked tendency toward an intelligent philanthropy directed toward education and the fine arts."

"The Other Side of Main Street" makes clear that in many parts of the country "there has come a new civic consciousness, a new cooperative effort in health, in education, in recreation, in art, in the right use of leisure, that will bring about a renaissance in the country life of America."

Among the chief obstacles to the spirit of adventure, along with complacent optimism and pessimism, Professor Mims lists the cult of intellectual smartness, with its lack of restraint, reticence, and discipline, as one of the disintegrating forces in American life, but sees an antidote in the writings of the more sane and balanced humorists, who meet it with its own weapons.

In the chapter entitled "Where Doctors Disagree" there is a discussion of the critics at home and abroad who have sought to discover the truth about American civilization of today and to make a correct diagnosis of our social and political ailments. Among these are included: Civilization in the United States (1922), a symposium, Parrington's Main Currents in American Thought, Andre Seigfried's America Comes of Age, Waldo Frank's Our America, Keyserling's Travel Diary of a Philosopher, Pitkin's Twilight of the American Mind, Stuart Chase's Men and Machines, and Charles and Mary Beard's Rise of American Civilization. The unfavorable critics see only a steady decline of democracy through the influences of standardization, plutocracy, and the Machine, and their views are given at length. The chapter closes with a note of hopefulness for the future, sounded by Charles Beard, who voices "an invulnerable faith in democracy, in the ability of the undistinguished masses . . . to meet by reasonably competent methods the issues raised in the flow of time."

All this leads to the chapter on "The Venture of the Golden Mean," which seeks to show how "the greatest of adventures may be found in attaining a certain fulness and abundance of life, in better balanced thinking," which is the main contention of the book and forms its central thread.

In "The Laboratory and the Library" there is a stimulating discussion of the age-old conflict between science and culture or art, with a review of Elmer Barnes's Living in the Twentieth Century, Watson and Behaviorism, Eddington's Nature of the Physical World, and Whitehead's Science and the Modern World. Professor Mims puts forth the question whether the conflict is irrepressible or whether there may not be a larger synthesis whereby Humanism may include the scientific method or spirit as an indispensable element in culture, and believes that such scientists as Eddington and such philosophers as Whitehead have led the way in making this synthesis. "Certainly at the present time the emphasis needs to be put on the humane studies rather than on the scientific or practical. We need to restore the equilibrium."

The last chapter, "Toward the New Reformation," discusses the religious thought of to-day and shows how there is a steadily increasing

number of preachers in the church throughout the country who are doing all in their power to interpret the Christian religion in the light of new knowledge and progressive thought. At the close Professor Mims looks forward to "a modification of old beliefs, a readjustment of historic institutions, that will afford a more rational basis for hope."

Essentially a professor of literature, keenly alive to its beauties, Professor Mims has nevertheless realized that adequately to interpret fiction, drama, and poetry, he must acquaint himself with modern movements, social, philosophic, scientific, religious, and with courage, enthusiasm, and amazing industry he has read widely and wisely, so that he is more than a mere gerund-grinder, or a purveyor of other men's ideas. but a safe, inspiring leader of youth in the classroom and on the campus and a literary evangelist who loves to carry the best to the people outside, helping to fill their needs, influence their thinking, form their tastes, and strengthen their judgment. With clear vision he has seen the problems confronting us today and has analyzed them with fearlessness, discrimination, and fairness. He has rendered a genuine service in seeking to harmonize conflicting views, and his book should do much to help the young people in our colleges to acquire balance, proportion, definiteness of purpose, and to visualize a goal towards which to drive with enthusiasm, hopefulness, conviction, and courage.

Tulane University.

JOHN M. McBRYDE.

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AESTHETIC JUDGMENT. By D. W. Prall. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell and Company, 1929. xvi, 378 pp.

The old reproach of aestheticians, that they do not know the arts, is conspicuously false in the case of Mr. Prall. His book, though long, is never diluted with the "wide watery streams of generalization," but is packed with pointed and informed discussion of such concrete matters in the history of art as Blake's symbolism, the coloring of Greek sculpture, wave-forms in Japanese prints, and Dalcroze's conception of rhythm. His eighteen fresh and attractive reproductions are not needed "to remind the reader, when the author fails to do so, of the actual subject-matter under discussion," for Mr. Prall's touch in the field of the arts is obviously familiar and sure. Nor is he content with reference only. He takes and defends a thoughtful position on many artistic problems. He argues that beauty is never independent of the perceiving mind by examining the problem raised by Hogarth's line of beauty. Again, he argues that among the mixed arts opera is perhaps somewhat too mixed and too grand. "It must after all be said to fail, since it pretends, at least, to be an art of the theatre, in which human action and humanly moving events are portrayed. And it is very doubtful indeed whether either opera singers or their audiences experience e

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any very full or very fine appreciation even of operatic music, since as music it is often . . . a matter of vocal virtuosity, or . . . an extremely complex musical structure not even perceived in its complete tonal aesthetic surface except by very thoroughly trained or gifted musicians" (p. 284).

It is a question, I think, whether Mr. Prall is quite as successful a philosopher of art as he is a critic. He says the book is no place for logic. Of course the bare bones of a formal dialectic ought not to protrude. But some imminent pattern according to which the fact of beauty is placed in a total scheme of values as clearly as the elements and levels and structures of beauty are placed by the author within the four corners of beauty itself, would give breadth and clarity to the discussion. He is a pluralist: beauties are unique. He is sane on the relation of art to society and of the perceiving mind to the objective fact in beauty. But we have little more here than the balance and common sense of a man of general culture. Like it or not, Hegel's monumental performance in aesthetics, filling four fat volumes in translation, sets the beauty of nature and of art in an epic frame such that no amount of detailed art-criticism or somewhat-more-than-art-criticism like the present work can replace it. Mr. Prall's handling of the relevant history of philosophy is, I think, also a little insecure. On the whole he lets Plato go where the Neo-Platonists carried him-into vague mysticism. This, I believe, is not quite just. At least the opinion of one of the most distinguished of contemporary German art-critics, Erwin Panofsky, that Plato established the meaning and worth of beauty in a form that will hold good for all time, and his doctrine of ideas has exhibited a constantly increasing importance for the aesthetics of the plastic arts (Idea, p. 1) seems to me better grounded. Doctrinal questions in Plato are of course singularly difficult to decide. But the treatment of Spinoza, though slight, seems to me clearly loose. I cannot believe that the significance of a body "apt to many motions" (p. 164) in Spinoza has anything to do with Havelock Ellis's Dance of Life. At any rate, if "He who possesses a body capable of the greatest number of activities possesses a mind whereof the greatest part is eternal" (Ethics, V, 39) can be in any sense converted into "Isadora Duncan was a first-class geometrical metaphysician," it throws an entirely new light on Spinoza for me. KATHERINE GILBERT.

THE AGE OF GREY AND PEEL. By the late H. W. Carless Davis, Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, with an Introduction by G. M. Trevelyan. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1929. x, 347 pp.

It is no reflection on the late Professor Davis to say that this venture into modern history does not enhance his well-earned reputation based on medieval studies. These chapters—his Ford Lectures for 1926—indicate in places that he had insight which, had he not been cut off in his prime, might have enabled him to contribute to an understanding of the later period also. But it was not to be, and the reviewer has the ungracious duty of saying that the first half of the book helps not at all to illuminate the subjects of which it treats.

The author clearly gave considerable labor and thought to the work, but there were several difficulties in the way. His title suggests that his attention was centered on the nineteenth century, but the first half of the book deals with the eighteenth. Now between the eighteenth century and that part of nineteenth in which the major political careers of Grey and Peel lay there were several wide gulfs, which the lives of these leaders spanned. One who studies the last half of the eighteenth century, thinking chiefly of things that became important in the second quarter of the nineteenth, almost inevitably gets a distorted view of the earlier period from the point of view of the people who lived in it. It is doubtful whether the most important mission in life of Rockingham, Fox, Burke, and George III was to prepare the way for the political reformers who followed them in a later generation.

By trying again to describe the general principles for which "Whigs" and "Tories" stood through a considerable period, Professor Davis proves once more the impossibility of the task. What is more, he leaves untouched the changing structure of political society and the methods of political leaders, subjects vastly more pertinent to the questions he elected to treat. Perhaps it is unreasonable to expect that a scholar with a reputation entitling him to an invitation to give these lectures should actually plod through the avenues in which political controversy flowed in the time covered by Professor Davis. But it is none the less true that until one has traveled this long and tedious journey he cannot testify of the things there to be seen. Professor Davis, it is true, made some use of the records in the Home Office, but they are not the best sources for the history of political campaigns.

These strictures are not meant to obscure the merits of some of the later chapters in the book, which contain many suggestive passages on both Grey and Peel. But it is neither an adequate nor a balanced picture of the age it professes to treat.

W. T. LAPRADE.

MARSE ROBERT. Knight of the Confederacy. By James C. Young. New York: Rae D. Henkle, Inc., 1929. 362 pp.

It was Woodrow Wilson who remarked, with that fastidiousness of language which reflected the fastidiousness of his thought, that the adjective "great" is bandied about indiscriminately, but the adjective "noble" reserved, by common usage, for a select few. Those whom history has called great—and not undeservedly—are legion; those who command the epithet "noble" can be numbered on the fingers of one hand. It would be presumptuous indeed to attempt to name them, but by common consent Robert E. Lee is of their company. He was not only the Knight of the Confederacy, but probably the knightliest figure in the whole range of American history. Beyond other public men he had those qualities of dignity, humility, sincerity, courage, integrity, serenity, tolerance and purity that the ancients expressed in the word virtue. In his public and his private life, he was literally without blemish. And so, like Washington, he has been the despair of biographers, and of psychoanalysts.

Even in his lifetime Lee was

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The prop and pillar of a state
The incarnation of a national dream,

and since then he has been apotheosized as no other American save Abraham Lincoln. But there is this peculiar quality about the apotheosis of Lee, as distinguished from that of Lincoln, that it has not taken the form of myth-making to any large degree; that it has not distorted or hidden the reality under encrustations of legend. Nor does Lee yield readily to humanizing, to popularizing, to what has come to be known as "debunking." And it is, I think, literally true that outside the special field of military history and with the exception of some contemporary political attacks, there is no biography of the Confederate leader conceived in a hostile or critical spirit. The ebb and flow of the tides of historical favor have left him untouched. He remains, in the words of his most sympathetic and appreciative analyst, Stephen Vincent Benet,

The head on the Greek coin, the ideal image
The shape who stands at Washington's left hand
Worshipped, incomprehensible, and aloof.
A figure lost to flesh and blood and bones
Frozen into a legend out of life
A blank verse statute.

And yet there was nothing either mysterious or mystical about Robert E. Lee. He was a Virginia planter, a southern gentleman, a professional soldier, a college president, and he had the attributes that we associate with each of these rôles. His life was a life of deeds, of actions; his virtues were public virtues and public property. The facts of his career are known and plain. There is nothing obscure or baffling about that record; yet, ponder it as we will, it does not yield to us the secret of his character; of his hold upon the imagination and devotion of

his own and subsequent generations. It is the problem of his biographers not only to explain Lee, but to explain the South in terms of Lee. For Lee's virtues were, after all, the virtues of his people, and are to be explained in terms of his environment and of his training. He was an extraordinary individual, but he was not unique, not, historically, a sport. The question that presents itself is not, How did Virginia of the early nineteenth century, how did the South, come to produce such a man?, but rather, What was the society that Lee represented, that he personified? And this question must be posed without any sentimental idealizing, without any false and pernicious illusions about the antebellum Southern society and the social and economic bases upon which it so precariously rested, without any filiopietistic hyperbole. For it is the function of the historian to check his deductions from cause to effect by his facts from effect to cause.

Is it possible, then, to interpret Southern society in terms of Robert E. Lee? To what extent can we discover its strength and its weakness. its virtues and its vices in his career? Lee's social position, like that of other Southern leaders, was assured to him by birth and marriage and family affiliations. Yet he did not fail to assume the responsibilities of that position, nor abuse its privileges, but gave himself, as others of his class, to the service of his country. He was a member of the planter class who composed a distinct minority in the South, who ruled at the expense of the middle and poorer classes, and who maintained, at terrific cost to the whole South, the peculiar institution of slavery. Yet all classes followed his leadership unquestionably, all worshipped him reverently, and his slaves remained loyal to him throughout the war. Like other Southern leaders he was profoundly religious, profoundly Christian, and was able to effect a reconciliation, of a fashion, between Christianity and slavery, Christianity and the profession of arms. And as he personified Southern society in its success and completion, so he symbolized it in its defeat and led it in its reconstruction. An historian who could comprehend Robert E. Lee, his background, his environment, his career, his support, his social and religious and moral characteristics, might hope to penetrate far to an understanding of the ante-bellum South.

Mr. James Young's biography of Marse Robert, Knight of the Confederacy, is a dramatic rather than a philosophic approach to his problem. The presentation is interesting and effective, though somewhat conventional. Although Mr. Young occasionally lapses into the language and the attitudes of chivalry, and though he is guilty of some egregious historical errors, the faults of the book are negative rather

than positive, and they are quite outweighed by its qualities of charm and enthusiasm and intelligence. The story is a straightforward one, largely concerned, as is perhaps inevitable, with the military history of the Civil War. The account of Lee's campaigns, based largely it would seem, on secondary material, is accurate and temperate, though needless to say it does not supplant Maurice's study. Mr. Young weighs, with admirably critical judgment, such problems as Lee's relations with Jefferson Davis, his unwillingness to assume responsibility, his patience with incompetence and insubordination. Military historians will doubtless quarrel with the accounts of Seven Days, of Gettysburg, of Petersburg, but Mr. Young's grasp of the major military problems that faced Lee, of the difficulties, human and natural, with which he labored, and of the importance of political and diplomatic factors is on the whole adequate.

What we miss is a philosophic approach to the problem of Lee's character and the society which he defended and personified. Allen Tate attempted something of this nature in his biography of Jefferson Davis, and William E. Dodd, more successfully, in his penetrating essays "Lincoln or Lee." Few figures in American history, few in all history, offer

so alluring a challenge to a philosophic biographer.

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HENRY COMMAGER.

THE PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE OF NICOLO MACHIAVELLI. By Orestes Ferrara. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1929. Pp. xii, 130.

This book is perhaps unfortunate in its title; on taking it up we expect an English edition of the letters of Machiavelli; what we find is a brief treatment of them interspersed with extracts; four of the chapters do not contain even excerpts and there is much matter of a general sort. The work, however, originated as a popular lecture and should be estimated as such. Its purpose is to convey to the intelligent reader "sufficient data to destroy the numerous legends created around [Machiavelli's] personality," and thus to vindicate his reputation. While the legend of Machiavelli is to special students now only a curious historical phenomenon, the old belief in Niccolo as the equal of his Satanic majesty is still held by many as firmly as in the period treated by Dr. Mario Praz in his recent British Academy lecture on "Machiavelli and the Elizabethans." Consequently we should be grateful for any words on the subject likely to be read by a wide audience.

Any one who will take the book for what it is will find that it will furnish him some pleasant and profitable hours. Its attractiveness begins in the large type and continues with the pictures, mostly from early originals. The most interesting is probably that from the 1550 edition of Machiavelli's works, from which there looks out the man

who could unite the events that passed before his eyes with the general laws of human conduct.

Chapter three quotes from his correspondence with Vettori, whose secretary he once was. Many ideas prominent in Machiavelli's more formal works appear here, such as the folly of neutrality and the necessity that a prince avoid hatred and contempt if possible, but if there must be a choice, contempt rather than hatred. Here we have also the famous letter on Machiavelli's life during the composition of the Prince, telling how he spent his early morning in visiting his farm and in reading the poetry of Dante, Petrarch, and the Latins, part of the day in conversing and playing cards and dice with the boors at the wayside inn, and the evening in "the antique courts of ancient men," from whose conversation he was compiling a work on princedoms. Next is a letter on Machiavelli's love-affairs; in discussing this and other epistles Dr. Ferrara wavers between taking them literally or calling them "literary effusions." Indeed, throughout the work his repeated expressions of desire to avoid the licentious tend to defeat his purpose.

The next chapter deals with the relations of Machiavelli with Guicciardini, the one of his friends most in harmony with his view of the world, if we may judge from Guicciardini's writings, especially his fascinating political aphorisms. Dr. Ferrara gives much space to an account of something of much importance in the domestic life of the time, the financial arrangements about the marriage of a daughter. The reader is reminded of Dante's earlier saying that the birth of a daughter frightened a Florentine because the thought of the dower beyond due measure that he must provide for her husband.

Letters to Machiavelli show something of his relations to his family and illustrate domestic affairs in the early sixteenth century. For instance, his wife in a "badly written" letter tells him she is sending a "night cap, two shirts, two handkerchiefs and a towel," and his son Guido promises to repeat to him the first book of the Metamorphoses of Ovid on his return.

ALLAN H. GILBERT.

THE COMING OF THE WHITE MAN. By Herbert Ingram Priestley. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920. xiii, 411 pp.

Professor Priestley's book is the first volume in a "A History of American Life," under the editorship of Arthur M. Sclesinger and Dixon Ryan Fox, two exponents of American social history. The thorough scholarship of the author manifested in Jose de Galvez: Visitor General of New Spain, The Mexican Nation, and such articles as "The Old University of Mexico," is sustained in this more synthetic work, which is racy in style, dignified in language, and masterly in tone. To a vast knowledge of the sources has been added an extensive experience with American misunderstandings of neighboring colonists and institutions. Both these advantages are necessary correlatives of an interesting book founded upon exacting research, but too often a thorough investigation and an absorbing story are the very antithesis of each other.

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In a very engrossing fashion a series of cross sections are passed under the reader's view-the territorial advance of the Spaniards, their economic life, race problems, life and letters-so refuting the ignorant and prejudiced "Anglo-Saxon idea that the Spanish occupation of America brought few of the amenities of civilization." Such a kaleidoscopic view or interpretation of colonial Mexican institutions, exemplifying most of Hispanic America, is a welcome contribution, probably surpassing that of Edward Gaylord Bourne. The pursuit of the mazy intricacies of the twenty-one fountainheads of Hispanic-American history is now considered almost futile. From the official of New Spain, who is easily pictured as a living person rather than an obscure, enigmatic Spaniard with an impossible title, to the labyrinthine ramifications of the Spanish mines, the author has moved with imagination, easy grasp, and a graphic articulation that at once dispel the aversion and arouse the interest of even the popular reader. "The Westward Impulse" shows us the members of a suffering emigrant family of a Spanish judge stuffed in a low ceiled box called a cabin, from which they could hear only the swashings of the waves and the official devotions of the ship's page. "'Amen! God give us good day; a happy voyage; may the ship make a good passage, sir, captain, master, and goodly company. Amen. May it make a good voyage, indeed. God give your lordships good day, my lords, from stern to prow." "In the semidarkness inside they could feel swarms of cockroaches and could hear droves of rats ceaselessly alive." From this his honor might emerge to the pump on the quarterdeck where water, "'foaming like hell and stinking like the devil," offered little temptation to an abnormal palate or a harassed stomach. Between this situation and the "pageantry that solemnized a viceroy's induction" there is a great disparity, but a disparity which illustrates the range and interest of the author's treatment.

There has been much loose talk about common features of colonial feudalism. At last we have an opportunity to learn something definite about the "vestige of that feudalism which lingered in the minds of all the Europeans who crossed the ocean. The French seigniories, the Spanish encomiendas, and the English manors, were all derived from a common source. The more general use of the feudal device by the Spanish, French, and Dutch shows the basic homogeneity of their co-

lonial and social ideals. . . ." Thus the feudal arrangements in the western world were not necessarily replicas of those of Spain, but of the vestiges of "the medieval mental state."

If at times one loses sight of the chronological unity, it is only necessary to recall that the chapters of this book are stereoscopic slides, projecting the history of the neighbors of the United States. Giving the title a very literal interpretation, the book is not a unit for the New World or even for North America; however, such obviously was not the intention of the author. He no doubt naturally expected the American reader to supply the data for the United States, or to refer to the volumes in the same series by Professors T. J. Wertenbaker and James Truslow Adams. A less arresting, but a more accurate title would have been "Our Colonial Neighbors."

THE POLITICS OF LAURENCE STERNE. By Lewis Perry Curtis. New York: Oxford University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, 1929. xiv, 139 pp.

This little volume, which might well have been condensed into an article, fills a lacuna in the life of Sterne. The author unearthed in the Library of York Minster a few copies of the York Gazetter for 1741 to which Sterne in his twenties contributed articles in support of the county candidate for parliament favored by his uncle, becoming thereby involved in controversy with a neighboring clergyman on the other side, probably James Scott. Some of these articles seem to have been reprinted in the Daily Gazette of London, the ministerial organ of Walpole's later years. One letter contributed by Sterne to a rival York paper, the Courant, was reprinted with additions as a pamphlet, which Mr. Curtis has also found in the Minster Library and reprints in his book.

Students of the history of both literature and journalism are indebted to Mr. Curtis for these discoveries. But these relics of Sterne's apprenticeship in political journalism, the school in which so many literary men of the eighteenth century were trained, are submerged in antiquarian information concerning Yorkshire families and politics and are subjected to notes many of which are unnecessary and not all of which are accurate. Passages in both the text and notes reveal a lack of intimate familiarity with the political history of the time necessary if one is to write of it with authority. Without seeming to be ungracious, one may venture to suggest that a wiser plan would have been to let the documents tell their own story aided only by a statement of the circumstances that brought them to the light, of the facts that identify them and the situation which called them forth. On the question whether Sterne's activity in these months was the basis of the character who

became Yorrick in his Tristram Shandy, the reviewer can only report without prejudice.

W. T. LAPRADE.

CHAUCER ESSAYS AND STUDIES: A SELECTION FROM THE WRITINGS OF OLIVER FARRAR EMERSON, 1860-1927. Cleveland, Ohio: Western Reserve University Press, 1929. 455 pp.

An Emerson Memorial Volume (as Professor Graham names it in the Foreword) is highly appropriate. It consists of fifteen papers chosen from the hundred and fifty-six items of the late Professor Emerson's published writings, from early verse to latest reviews-these fifteen constituting virtually all of his Chaucer studies in print-with an introductory sketch of his life. A different choice, with less unity of topic, would have been more representative of Emerson's work, but there is an obvious convenience in having the Chaucerian material collected in a single volume. It might be a question also whether Emerson's most valuable contributions do not include some of his non-Chaucerian studies in the Middle English field. The Memorial Volume shows therefore but one side of that considerable monument which Professor Emerson erected for himself-and for all students of our early language and literature. The formal Bibliography, at the end of the volume, however, bears abundant testimony of the range of his interests; and this is still further illustrated by the List (occupying ten pages) of works cited, in the Chaucer articles alone—a list designed chiefly "to help readers get a clear conception of the comprehensiveness of Professor Emerson's reading and learning and of the thoroughness of his scholarship." This is of course not the place to attempt an evaluation of the separate papers. Some have already been absorbed into the general body of Chaucer knowledge, some are on matters still in dispute, some will perhaps not commend themselves to final acceptance; but

al that writen is
To our doctryne it is y-write, y-wis.
Taketh the fruyt, and lat the chaf be stille.

P. F. B.

WOLFE AND NORTH AMERICA. By Lieutenant Colonel F. E. Whitton. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1929. 322 pp.

There is little fault to find with the thesis of this book, that Wolfe in taking Quebec performed creditably the task assigned to him, but that he does not merit the exaggerated encomiums of which he is frequently the subject. But careful readers of history did not need the book to make this point, and it does not seem likely to reach or persuade a wider audience.

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Colonel Whitton writes well enough and with some spirit when he comes to describe the campaign against Quebec, but without especial distinction of style. He has read some good books, but without the discrimination and insight necessary to enable him to write history. He pretends to no extensive research; we learn from the dedication that the book was "begun and finished" in 1928-29. Consequently neither the historical nor the biographical chapters are the best places to get dependable information on the subjects of which they treat. No doubt the author enjoyed the writing and the reading and study which preceded to it, but that was scarcely sufficient reason for publishing what he wrote.

W. T. LAPRADE.

THE GOTHICK NORTH: A STUDY OF MEDIAEVAL LIFE, ART, AND THOUGHT. By Sacheverell Sitwell. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1929. 454 pp.

Every new book is for the reader an adventure, often a leap into the dark; but the practised reviewer is a hardened criminal and usually lands on his feet. He is perhaps as often wrong as right when he comes up and out into daylight with his conventional phrases; yet it is the way of life to be as often wrong as right, and he is not unacquainted himself with grief. But the reader (and reviewer) of *The Gothick North* is led a merry dance: the music is seductively pleasant (in spite of occasional violence to infinitives); the movements serpentine; the exercise demands agility without producing weariness; the company is exhilarating and completely urbane. In short, it is a very successful dance; but the next morning he finds himself a little confused, a little inclined to wonder how much was dream and how much was actuality.

Mr. Sitwell—or the first person of the book, who is in some fashion Mr. Sitwell and in some fashion, I trust, not Mr. Sitwell—calls the tunes with supreme confidence. He is a poet, who cannot go on writing poetry three hundred and sixty-odd days in the year for too many years on end; and accordingly he casts about for something to occupy his intercalated moments of sub-poetic inspiration. After rejecting Patrician Venice, the Soughoi Empire, the Maya Civilization, the Norimon-man, and others, he throws in his lot with "a study, if not a defence, of the fair-haired races that have imposed themselves for a thousand years upon all the countries of Northern Europe, and, in fact, upon everything that is not Slav or Italian." Is he serious? Of course: but he speaks with poetic license. He has both time and space at command. At the end of three hundred pages he has broken ground, delightfully and leisurely, by touching on nearly everything from Persian miniatures to Modern Painters, with an occasional furtive glance at the Gothick North. His

bête noir is modern life, which he calls "These Sad Ruins," and to which he returns over and over; but no life except that of the imagination or of the past will satisfy a romantic poet, and Mr. Sitwell is always flying back to his fantastic blend of the two. His path is episodic. The "Dialogue in an Apple-Wood" opens in a modern café, moves easily, through a series of detached observations which seem to be continuous, to consideration of Norman buildings in the South of Europe, with a very lovely interlude on flowers, and closes with an evening saunter in Calabria (Mr. Sitwell's old haunt) and the reflections arising therefrom. A simple amour, begun casually, ends in tenuous fancies of interwoven sense and subtlety. He spins words like a silk-worm, and anything is his mulberry leaf. Like a Book of Hours or an Arabic manuscript, the "thing" with him is not text but decorative embroidery. Imagine an informal essay of a hundred and fifty thousand words, and you have The Gothick North in a nutshell-a free fantasia on a theme of many colors. P. F. B.

Hans Frost. By Hugh Walpole. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1929. Pp. 356.

This latest work of Mr. Walpole seems in the nature of a tour de force, except that there is no sense imparted to the reader of effort being used to impress the motif which, to this reviewer, is an exposition of the theory (and fact) that years do not, of themselves, age any one. The protagonist appears before one on his seventieth birthday, when a sudden love interest shown by him for a very young girl might repel the reader, who is invited to note the dignified success a man of letters has acquired and the plaudits he has won. Some critics say that the author's aim is to show how the love of a man for a woman, whatever her age, may be without the tang of sex. If this has been the aim in the story of Hans Frost, it seems to me to have failed. While Hans Frost does not, indeed, approach the young niece of his wife with the impulse of man toward woman, the effect on him when he discovers her appealing youth and her admiration of himself,-an admiration she has long felt for his genius, his literary works becoming a source of pride to her because she could claim relationship through the marriage of the author to her mother's sister—is to rouse him from a mental lethargy his seventy years have seemed to warrant and make him feel again vigorous of mind and body.

That such rousing would not have been effected by the meeting with a young boy relative, seems plain. It must then be the tang of sex that appeals, though quite unconsciously and without idea, even desire of possession; and the second reaction to the lonely, homesick girl's influ-

ence is purely paternal and protective. This Ruth, his wife, immediately resents; her meanly antagonistic attitude toward her niece indicates an ordinary, even vulgar mind, apprehending the first effect on her husband, not wise enough to perceive an involuntary feeling nor generous enough to overlook it or see the later established fatherly concern for a loving child. This interpretation of behavior is left to the reader. The author's exposition is made by means of the "stream of consciousness" of each character. That the employment of this method repeatedly does not weary the reader or detract from the interest of the narrative is testimony of the talent of the writer. One sympathizes deeply with Hans' roused consciousness of the fullness of life that his seventieth birthday does not dim, that is even accentuated by visits from his contemporaries who present him with a valuable gift. In his manner of accepting it one feels his real modesty and his realization that one's accomplishment always falls short of one's aim; one understands his judgment of the sincerity or disingenuousness of praise given his work. The reader perceives that the man is finding his own character at an age when the forming of character may be considered over; yet Hans wishes to remould his, at least to the point of no longer accepting from his wife protection against what she thinks are disagreeables. From the girl he is getting the double expression of friendly adulation that he knows is from lack of proper judgment of him, while her young adoration increases his humility, makes sterner his own judgment of what he has done. In this implied analysis one reads, too, the universal feeling of a sincere artist who is more severe in criticism of his own productions than others are. Hans is a creation and his story an idyl.

Not so that of Ruth, his wife who is the snobbish, selfish, emotionally cold woman so often presented in British fiction. Her interpreter makes her readers rejoice that she is finally thwarted in dominating her husband.

In smaller details one deprecates the forecasting of events even to the death of Hans (though not happening in the story), for his vigor is so impressed on the reader that protest against his being called "old" is frequently felt. In spite of the modern demand for a young girl character in any story and the close association of Nathalie with the trend of events, it is Hans, the man of seventy, who holds the stage to the end and leaves one, too, with the sense of his ability and force as well as of his sweetness of nature.

FLORENCE JACKSON STODDARD.

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